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VOCATION.

Man, in his fallen state, is alienated from God and the life of God,¹⁾ ἄθεος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.²⁾ *All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned away every one to his own way.*³⁾ Nor is there in natural man a desire or willingness to return to God, to enter into union and communion with him. *The carnal mind is enmity against God.*⁴⁾ But *God loved the world;*⁵⁾ he longed for union and communion with fallen man; and in order to reestablish the bond of union which had been severed by sin, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.*⁶⁾ And not only has God prepared salvation for all men, but he also sends forth the call: *All things are ready; come to the marriage;*⁷⁾ *Come; for all things are now ready.*⁸⁾ To the wayward children who go astray, famishing in the desert, he extends the call: *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.*⁹⁾ *Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*¹⁰⁾

1) Eph. 4, 18.

4) Rom. 8, 7.

7) Matt. 22, 4.

10) Matt. 11, 28.

2) Eph. 2, 12.

5) John 3, 16.

8) Luke 14, 17.

3) Is. 53, 6.

6) 2 Cor. 5, 19.

9) Is. 55, 1.

Such is the call whereby sinners are to be brought to God and Christ and the salvation which is in Christ Jesus. God *hath saved us and CALLED us with an holy CALLING.*¹⁾ *Κλήσις*, vocation, is the work of God whereby he, through the means of grace, earnestly offers to all who hear or read the gospel, or to whom the sacraments are administered, the benefits of Christ's redemption, truly and earnestly invites and exhorts them to accept and enjoy what is thus offered, and endeavors to move and lead them by the power inherent in the means of grace to such acceptance and enjoyment of the benefits of the redemption.

Vocation, then, is the work of God, of divine grace. *He called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace.*²⁾ In his pentecostal sermon, Peter says, *The promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD OUR GOD shall CALL.*³⁾ And Paul writes, *GOD is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.*⁴⁾ And St. Peter, *Ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.*⁵⁾ The same God who by his almighty word called primeval light to shine out of primeval darkness,⁶⁾ also calls men from the darkness of sin and death to the light in the Lord.⁷⁾

But while the power of God commanded the light to shine out of darkness in the beginning by immediate action, the same power of God exerts itself in the calling of sinners by mediate action, by the means of grace. *He called you by our gospel, ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμῶν,*⁸⁾ says the apostle of Christ. This gospel, being the word of God, is not only *quick and powerful,*⁹⁾ but is itself *δύναμις θεοῦ, the power of God unto salvation.*¹⁰⁾ Thus the call whereby sin-

1) 2 Tim. 1, 9.

2) Ibid.

3) Acts 2, 39.

4) 1 Cor. 1, 9.

5) 1 Pet. 2, 9.

6) 2 Cor. 4, 6.

7) 1 Pet. 2, 9. Eph. 5, 8.

8) 2 Thess. 2, 14.

9) Hebr. 4, 12.

10) Rom. 1, 16.

ners are called to the fellowship of Christ is always efficacious, always earnestly intent upon the effect for which the efficacious gospel is the means. *The gifts and calling of God are without repentance,*¹⁾ even where, as in Israel according to the flesh, they meet with unbelief and obstinate resistance. *To Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.*²⁾ To furnish the wedding with guests, the servants of the Lord are charged, *Go ye into the highways; and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.*³⁾ The gospel, εὐαγγέλιον, is παραγγλία to all men everywhere to repent.⁴⁾ The ambassadors of Christ preach Christ νουθετοῦντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον καὶ διδάσκοντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον, *admonishing every man and teaching every man,*⁵⁾ not *pro forma*, but with the intention of presenting every man perfect in Christ Jesus.⁶⁾ A prophet is an official spokesman of God, through whom God deals with those to whom the prophet is sent, not only with those who accept his message. When God sent Ezekiel to the children of Israel, he said: *They are impudent children and stiffhearted. I do send thee unto them; and thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God. And they, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, (for they are a rebellious house,) yet shall know that there hath been a prophet among them. . . . And thou shalt speak my words unto them, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.*⁷⁾ The same is true of the written word of God. Here, too, the prophets are the spokesmen of God. *All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.*⁸⁾ The written gospel, too, has the *vis operativa* and the *vis collativa*. These, says St. John, were written, that ye might BELIEVE that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might HAVE life through his

1) Rom. 11, 29.

2) Rom. 10, 21.

3) Matt. 22, 9.

4) Acts 17, 30.

5) Col. 1, 28.

6) Ibid.

7) Ezek. 2, 4. 5. 7.

8) 2 Tim. 3, 16.

name.¹⁾ Hence the admonition, *Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life.*²⁾

The same is also true of the sacraments. Baptism is a means of divine grace, not for a chosen few only, but for all the world. *Be baptized EVERY ONE OF YOU in the name of Jesus Christ FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS*, says Peter in his pentecostal sermon;³⁾ and the church is charged to *disciple all nations baptizing them.*⁴⁾ By this charge Baptism is for all times stamped an efficacious means of leading men to the fellowship of Christ, as truly as by saying, "Go ye and heal all the sick by giving them quinine," God would have stamped this drug a panacea for all physical ailments. The Lord's supper, likewise, is but another form of declaring to sinners that God is gracious to them for Christ the Redeemer's sake, that their sins are forgiven and life and salvation is prepared for them, every one of them.

The power of the means of grace being twofold, colative and operative, vocation, which is performed by the administration, *in usu constituere*, of the means of grace, implies a twofold activity of the saving grace and power of God. In the first place, God seriously offers to all who hear or read the gospel, and to whom the sacraments are administered, the benefits of Christ's redemption. The gospel call is, *Be ye reconciled to God,*⁵⁾ that is, possess and enjoy what was procured for you when *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.*⁶⁾ God calls sinners to *the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ,*⁷⁾ *unto his kingdom and glory,*⁸⁾ *to eternal life,*⁹⁾ *unto his eternal glory,*¹⁰⁾ to all the blessings which Christ has procured for us.¹¹⁾ At the same time, by the same call, God endeavors to move and lead all those to whom the call is extended to the acceptance of what he offers. The call is an earnest invitation to the marriage

1) John 20, 31.

2) John 5, 39.

3) Acts 2, 38.

4) Matt. 28, 19.

5) 2 Cor. 5, 20.

6) 2 Cor. 5, 19.

7) 1 Cor. 1, 9.

8) 1 Thess. 2, 12.

9) 1 Tim. 6, 12.

10) 1 Pet. 5, 10.

11) 1 Pet. 3, 7. Phil. 3, 14.

prepared by the grace of God: *Come; for all things are ready;*¹⁾ yea, *All things are ready; come to the marriage.*²⁾ The gospel call is: *The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.*³⁾ Christ the Prophet sent of God came to call sinners to repentance,⁴⁾ and it was his will and command that *repentance and forgiveness of sins be preached in his name among all nations.*⁵⁾ In obedience to this charge, the apostles preached, *Repent ye, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.*⁶⁾ By this call, God would work *μετάνοια*, a change of heart and mind, engender faith, which is the acceptance of Christ and his benefits, save us according to his own purpose and grace.⁷⁾ God would not only declare to fallen man his willingness to draw him toward himself, but actually *draws him,*⁸⁾ *leads him to repentance.*⁹⁾

All this is in no wise invalidated by the many instances of obstinate and persistent refusal on the part of man to yield to the divine call and to accept what is offered by the means of grace. The power of God, exerting itself by mediate action in the calling of sinners to repentance, does not act irresistibly. There are those who decline the divine invitation to the great supper,¹⁰⁾ who *would not come* to the royal marriage to which they were bidden,¹¹⁾ who *despise the riches of God's goodness and forbearance and longsuffering,*¹²⁾ who, *being stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, do always resist the Holy Ghost.*¹³⁾ But *What if some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid.*¹⁴⁾ The call is of God, not of man; and *God is faithful, by whom we were*

1) Luke 14, 17.

2) Matt. 22, 4. 9. 10.

3) Mark 1, 15.

4) Matt. 9, 13. Mark 2, 17. Luke 5, 32.

5) Luke 24, 47.

6) Acts 3, 19; cf. 5, 31; 17, 30.

7) 2 Tim. 1, 9; cf. Acts 11, 14.

8) Jer. 31, 3.

9) Rom. 2, 4.

10) Luke 14, 16—20.

11) Matt. 22, 2—8.

12) Rom. 2, 4.

13) Acts 7, 51; cf. Matt. 23, 37.

14) Rom. 3, 3 f.

called unto the fellowship of his Son.¹⁾ All those in whom the effects of the calling grace of God are not by obstinate resistance frustrated are, by the divine power acting through and residing in the means of grace, regenerated or converted.

REGENERATION OR CONVERSION.

Regeneration or Conversion, in the stricter sense of the terms, is the work of divine power and grace by which man, born of the flesh, void of all power to think, to will, or to do, any good thing, and dead in sin, is, through the means of grace, quickened from spiritual death, born into a new spiritual life, endowed with spiritual power to know and understand spiritual truth, to will and to do what is spiritually good, and is thus transferred from his natural state of sin and wrath and spiritual death into a state of spiritual life, of faith and grace, and made to accept and enjoy the benefits of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, the Redeemer and Savior of mankind.

Regeneration, *παλιγγενεσία*, and Conversion, *ἐπιστροφή*, *ἐπιστρέφειν*, are scriptural terms, synonyms naming the same thing differently viewed. Other synonyms are *ἀναγεννᾶν*,²⁾ *ἀποκύειν*,³⁾ *γεννηθῆναι ἐκ θεοῦ*,⁴⁾ *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*,⁵⁾ *γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος*,⁶⁾ *ζωοποιεῖν*,⁷⁾ *ἐγείρειν*,⁸⁾ *καὶνὴν κτίσιν*,⁹⁾ *δοῦναι μετάνοιαν*.¹⁰⁾ All these terms may be divided into two groups, the one comprising those looking to the act or process as a change in man proceeding from a *terminus a quo* and leading to a *terminus ad quem*; the other comprising those terms which look rather to the *terminus ad quem*, the product or result brought about by the act or process designated. Terms of the former class are *conversion*, *giving repentance*, *raising up*, *quickening*. Of the second

1) 1 Cor. 1, 9.

2) 1 Pet. 1, 3. 23.

3) James 1, 18.

4) John 1, 13. 1 John 5, 1.

5) John 3, 3.

6) John 3, 5. 6.

7) Eph. 2, 5.

8) Eph. 2, 6.

9) 2 Cor. 5, 17. Gal. 6, 15.

10) Acts 5, 31.

class are *regeneration, begetting, begetting again, being born again, being born of God, of water and of the Spirit, a new creation*. But all these terms describe the same act or process. Conversion and regeneration are not similar acts or processes, but identical, the same thing only differently named as differently viewed. In a similar way the same person may, according to the same official capacity, be called a minister, a preacher, a pastor, a bishop, a presbyter; sanctification and renovation mean the same process differently viewed; justification and remission of sins are in the same sense synonymous terms.

The subject of regeneration or conversion, *subjectum regenerandum sive convertendum*, is man in his unregenerate, unconverted state, man as born of the flesh.¹⁾ In this state man is flesh, and only flesh.²⁾ He is still essentially man, not a brute, nor a devil, but a human being with a human mind, human understanding, human affections and desires, a human will. But *the carnal mind is enmity against God*, τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἐχθρὰ εἰς θεόν.³⁾ The understanding of natural man is darkened, ignorant, blind, in spiritual things,⁴⁾ so that *the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither CAN he know them*.⁵⁾ The affections of natural man are evil, depraved; *he is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts*.⁶⁾ The will of natural man is set against the will of God; he is God's *enemy*.⁷⁾ And this depravity is total. Darkness, σκότος,⁸⁾ is not twilight, but the total absence of light. Blindness is not defective vision, but a total inability to see. Not many or most of natural man's imaginations, but *every* imagination of the thoughts of his heart is evil, and *only* evil, and *continually* evil,⁹⁾ and *evil from his youth*.¹⁰⁾ Natural man's attitude toward God is

1) John 3, 6.

2) Ibid.

3) Rom. 8, 7.

4) Eph. 4, 18; 5, 8.

5) 1 Cor. 2, 14; cf. 2 Cor. 3, 5.

6) Eph. 4, 22.

7) Rom. 8, 7; 5, 10. Col. 1, 21.

8) Eph. 5, 8.

9) Gen. 6, 5.

10) Gen. 8, 21.

not neutrality, but *enmity against God*.¹⁾ Man, in his natural state, is not only weakened by sin, but *dead in sins*,²⁾ and death is the total extinction of life. And such is the state of man by nature; we are τέχνα φύσει ὀργῆς,³⁾ not by example, education, or any manner of deterioration after we came into being, but conceived and born in sin and iniquity.⁴⁾ And such is the universal state of *all* natural men; they are *ALL gone aside, they are ALL together become filthy; there is NONE that doeth good, no, NOT ONE.*⁵⁾

Such, then, is unregenerate, unconverted man, such the *terminus a quo* of regeneration or conversion. And now we read of such as were sometimes darkness, *Now are ye light in the Lord*,⁶⁾ of such as were dead in sins that they were *quickenened and raised up*,⁷⁾ having *passed from death unto life*,⁸⁾ of such as were blind and ignorant, that *the eyes of their understanding are enlightened*,⁹⁾ of such as had been δοῦλοι ἁμαρτίας, *bondslaves of sin*, but are *now made free from sin*,¹⁰⁾ of such as are no longer children of wrath, but *under grace*,¹¹⁾ having *obtained mercy*,¹²⁾ of such as were as sheep going astray, but are *now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls*,¹³⁾ of such as in time past were not a people, *but are now the people of God*,¹⁴⁾ having *become the sons of God*.¹⁵⁾ In all these instances we have the *terminus ad quem* of a remarkable change. All these scriptural statements speak of men in whom a change has taken place from the natural state of man into a contrary state, the very reverse of what the same scriptures and, in most cases, the same texts teach concerning natural man and concerning those very men in their former state.

1) Rom. 8, 7; 5, 9. Col. 1, 21.

2) Eph. 2, 5. Col. 2, 13.

3) Eph. 2, 3.

4) Gen. 8, 21. Job 14, 4; 15, 14. Ps. 51, 5.

5) Ps. 14, 3; cf. Is. 51, 6. Eph. 2, 3.

6) Eph. 5, 8.

7) Eph. 2, 5. 6. Col. 2, 13.

8) 1 John 3, 14. John 5, 24.

9) Eph. 1, 18.

10) Rom. 6, 20. 22.

11) Rom. 6, 14. 15.

12) 1 Pet. 2, 10.

13) 1 Pet. 2, 25.

14) 1 Pet. 2, 10.

15) John 1, 12. 1 John 3, 2. Rom. 8, 15. Gal. 3, 26; 4, 6.

Whence this change? It cannot be by natural growth or development. There is such a thing as spiritual growth, a *growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*,¹⁾ a growth unto perfect manhood, to *the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*.²⁾ But there the *terminus a quo* is not spiritual blindness and death, but the inferior knowledge and stature of infants, *babes*, as compared with that of men *of full age*.³⁾ Here, however, we have a change from death to life, from darkness to light, from blindness to sight, from slavery to freedom, from a state of wrath to a state of grace, from slaves of Satan to children of God. Of course, a dead man may undergo changes, natural and otherwise. Of Lazarus in his sepulchre his sister Martha said, *Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days*.⁴⁾ Or we may change a dead man's garment; but he is as dead in a decent shroud as he was in the clothes in which he died. You may put spectacles on a blind man's eyes and by education teach him to speak and write compositions on the nature and beauty of colors; but all this will leave him as blind as he was before. St. Paul gives us a description of what changes natural man may undergo by way of natural devolution in his portraiture of heathendom sinking away into deeper depths of darkness, of spiritual ignorance and the filth of sin, until, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and yielding themselves up to the lusts of their corrupt nature they sinned even against nature.⁵⁾ All the attainments and accomplishments of art and science throughout a pagan world were, at their very best, but a beautiful shroud and wreaths of flowers decking a corpse decaying in spiritual death. In all nature there is no such thing as life engendered out of death. Even the evolution of life of a higher order from life of a lower order, as of animal life

1) 2 Pet. 3, 18; cf. Hebr. 5, 12—14.

3) Hebr. 5, 12—14; cf. Eph. 4, 13.

5) Rom. 1, 21—32.

2) Eph. 4, 13.

4) John 11, 39.

from vegetable life, is without an instance in the universe. Nothing short of a new creation, *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, could change an inorganic body into an organism, and a vegetable organism into an animal. Thus also Adam, by nature, could only beget a son in his own likeness, after his image,¹⁾ flesh born of the flesh,²⁾ and flesh, by natural development, can only become flesh. Flesh cannot, by a natural process, be changed into spirit any more than oxygen can be changed into carbon, or carbon into hydrogen.

*Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, καὶνὴ κτίσις: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.*³⁾ Such is the explicit statement of Scripture, and it is in full keeping with the observation and experience of all ages and all the laws governing the operations of all the innumerable forces throughout the universe. The new man does not come into being by evolution from the old man, who is corrupt,⁴⁾ but *κατὰ θεὸν κτισθεὶς, created after God,*⁵⁾ according to the image of him *that created him, τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.*⁶⁾ This is none the less true in view of the circumstance that this creation is accomplished by mediate action. As the procreation of children into physical life is in every instance a creative act of God, so the new spiritual man is created by a new birth, not flesh born of the flesh, but *spirit born of the Spirit,*⁷⁾ *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of a man, but of God.*⁸⁾ As this act or process goes on in a person already existing in physical life by natural birth, though by nature void of spiritual life, the birth of the spirit is *regeneration, παλιγγενεσία,*⁹⁾ by which, as God *hath begotten us again,*¹⁰⁾ we were *born again, ἀναγεννημένοι.*¹¹⁾ Of this spiritual birth we read that God *of his own will BEGAT us with the word of*

1) Gen. 5, 3.

2) John 3, 6.

3) 2 Cor. 5, 17.

4) Eph. 4, 22.

5) Eph. 4, 24.

6) Col. 3, 10.

7) John 3, 6.

8) John 1, 13.

9) Tit. 3, 5.

10) 1 Pet. 1, 3: ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς.

11) 1 Pet. 1, 23.

truth, βουλῆθεὶς ἀπεκύρσεν ἡμῶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας,¹⁾ *that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures*, ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων.²⁾ Regeneration, whereby we are born of God, is the spiritual process whereby we were made new creatures, created by the will of God, according to the image of him who created us. The same process is also described as a spiritual quickening, whereby man is raised up from a state of spiritual death and transferred into a state of spiritual life. Ὁντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν συνεζωοποίησεν τῷ Χριστῷ . . . καὶ συνήγειρεν, *when we were dead in sins, he quickened us together with Christ, . . . and hath raised us up together.*³⁾ Thus were we made ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντες, *alive from the dead;*⁴⁾ μεταβιβήκαμεν ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, *we have passed from death unto life.*⁵⁾ Again, this translation or transition from death into life is also described as *conversion*. *As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the DEATH of the wicked, but that the wicked turn, בָּשׁוּב, from his way and LIVE. Turn ye, turn ye, שׁוּבוּ, שׁוּבוּ, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?*⁶⁾ Those who were sometimes darkness were transferred from their former to their present state by being converted, *turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God.*⁷⁾ In our natural state, *all we like sheep have gone astray.*⁸⁾ But there are those who are no longer in their former state, but of whom the apostle says, Ἦτε ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, *the time is past when ye were as sheep going astray,*⁹⁾ ἥτε being in emphasis. How, then, was this change brought about? Ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, *ye are now returned, converted, unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls,*¹⁰⁾ says the apostle.

1) James 1, 18.

3) Eph. 2, 5. 6; cf. Col. 2, 12. 13; 3, 1.

5) 1 John 3, 14.

6) Ezek. 33, 11.

8) Is. 53, 6.

9) 1 Pet. 2, 24.

2) Ibid.

4) Rom. 6, 13.

7) Acts 26, 18.

10) Ibid. Cf. Acts 14, 15; 26, 18. Jer. 24, 7. Hos. 14, 2. Joel 2, 13.

In the texts quoted and elsewhere in the Scriptures, this change is viewed in two aspects, as an act performed in the *subjectum convertendum*, by a superior power, and as a process going on within the subject and brought about by such power. The former mode of conception views conversion as active, transitive, objective, *conversio activa, transitiva, objectiva*; the latter, as passive, intransitive, subjective conversion, *conversio passiva, intransitiva, subjectiva*. It is God who brings about the change, who begets the new man, quickens him from spiritual death, *who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son,*¹⁾ *who giveth repentance to Israel.*²⁾ But the change thus wrought takes place in man, in the particular subject whose understanding is enlightened, whose will is changed from disobedience and enmity against God to the willing obedience of a servant of God who yields himself to God.³⁾ This change, while it is not a work of man, is a work of God in man, not a change of God, but a change of man wrought by God. Conversion is *μετάνοια*, a change of mind, of man's mind; but *μετάνοια* is a gift of God.⁴⁾

All this is also apparent when we learn that regeneration or conversion is essentially the bestowal of faith. *We are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.*⁵⁾ *Who-soever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God.*⁶⁾ *We are risen with Christ through the faith of the operation of God,*⁷⁾ *and believing we have life through his name.*⁸⁾ *At Antioch, the hand of the Lord was with them that preached the Lord Jesus; and a great number believed and turned, ἐπέστρεψεν, unto the Lord.*⁹⁾ They who turned were men, the men who believed; but that believing they turned to

1) Col. 1, 13; cf. 1 Pet. 1, 3. Eph. 2, 6. 7.

2) Acts 5, 31.

3) Rom. 6, 13. 17. 22.

4) Acts 5, 31; 11, 18. 2 Tim. 2, 25.

5) Gal. 3, 26.

6) 1 John 5, 1; cf. John 1, 12. 13.

7) Col. 2, 12.

8) John 20, 31.

9) Acts 11, 21.

the Lord was an effect wrought by the hand of the Lord which was with the preachers of the Gospel of Christ.

While, then, it is man who is converted or regenerated, it is not man who converts or regenerates himself. Conversion or regeneration is wholly and exclusively the work of God, wherein the person being converted or regenerated can in no wise, measure or respect concur, but is merely the passive subject in which the salutary internal change is wrought *in solidum* by the power of God through the means of grace. The power which, *when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us*,¹⁾ is the same power which raised Christ from the dead. In our conversion God made manifest *what is the exceeding greatness of his power to usward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead*.²⁾ This converting, regenerating, quickening power of God finds the *subjectum convertendum* in a state of spiritual death, of enmity against God, and ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς, *when we were dead in sins, he hath quickened us*.³⁾ God does not bring about a state in man which qualifies or enables him to quicken himself, but it is God who quickens him, who, until he is quickened, is dead, void of all spiritual power and energy to turn himself to God. Paul expressly says that our salvation is NOT *of ourselves*, οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν, but *the gift of God*, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, the emphasis being on θεοῦ.⁴⁾ Hence we are simply and solely HIS *workmanship*, αὐτοῦ ποίημα, with the emphasis again on αὐτοῦ.⁵⁾ We are not a product of spiritual evolution, but *created in Christ Jesus*, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,⁶⁾ just as truly as Adam was not a product of physical evolution, but wholly God's handiwork, without any manner or measure of concurrence or cooperation in his own creation. Until this change was wrought in us by the power of God, we were in our natural state,

1) Eph. 2, 5.

2) Eph. 1, 19. 20.

3) Eph. 2, 5.

4) Eph. 2, 8.

5) Eph. 2, 10.

6) Ibid.

walking according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. Nowhere in this text or context, and nowhere in the Scriptures, do we find a vestige of an intermediate state, in which man were neither dead nor alive, neither in the kingdom of Satan nor in the kingdom of God, neither carnal nor spiritual, neither darkness nor light, neither believer nor unbeliever, so that, if he should die while in this intermediate state, he would be meet neither for hell nor for heaven, but for some intermediate nowhere. There is not and cannot be such a thing as neutrality between Satan and God; and if there were, it would be a damnable thing. Before his conversion, man is simply and solely *flesh born of the flesh*;¹⁾ and flesh will not and cannot concur with spirit; for *the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other*.²⁾ No sooner can there be in man this *lucta carnis et spiritus*, than after his regeneration, when there is in him *spirit born of the Spirit*.³⁾ All the energies of the old man are carnal. The new spiritual energies engendered by the grace and power of God are energies of the new man, and cannot exist by themselves, but are inherent in and peculiar to the new man. They cannot concur in the production of the new man, man's regeneration, but are themselves the product of regeneration. The faculty of hearing and the sense of sight are not engendered before the child, but in and with the child; they do not concur in, but presuppose the procreation of the living child. The spiritual man as well as the physical man with all his energies is *θεοῦ ποίημα*, not of himself, but of him who made him, God.

1) John 3, 6.

2) Gal. 5, 17.

3) John 3, 6.

And as the procreation of physical life is now a work of God performed by mediate action, so also the creation of spiritual life is a divine work accomplished by means, the means of grace. *Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.*¹⁾ Men are born again, *not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God.*²⁾ Regeneration is essentially the bestowal of faith; *and faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*³⁾ *It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.*⁴⁾ Baptism is *the washing of regeneration.*⁵⁾ *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*⁶⁾ When God created Adam and Eve, he created them into spiritual life as well as into physical life, creating them in his image and likeness, endowed with concreated spiritual wisdom and knowledge and in perfect righteousness, goodness, and holiness,⁷⁾ and all this without the employment of means, directly exerting his omnipotence in his creative work. Now, however, he brings forth physical man, body and soul, through the union of father and mother out of corruptible seed, and spiritual man through the word of God, the washing of regeneration, the gospel in its various form, as of incorruptible seed. In both instances, the will of God can be resisted and its intended effect can be frustrated by the interposition of created will, by parents who resort to various methods for the prevention of offspring, and by those *stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears who do always resist the Holy Ghost,*⁸⁾ who, when the word of God is spoken to them, *put it from them and judge themselves unworthy of everlasting life.*⁹⁾ The gospel is at all times and everywhere the power of God unto salvation,¹⁰⁾ *coming not in word only but also in power.*¹¹⁾

1) James 1, 18; cf. 1 Cor. 4, 15.

2) 1 Pet. 1, 23.

3) Rom. 10, 17; cf. John 17, 20.

4) 1 Cor. 1, 21.

5) Tit. 3, 5.

6) John 3, 5.

7) Gen. 1, 26. 27. 31.

8) Acts 7, 51.

9) Acts 13, 46. Cf. Rom. 10, 21. Matt. 23, 37. John 1, 5. 11; 3, 19—21.

10) Rom. 1, 16.

11) 1 Thess. 1, 5.

Of his quickening word, the Lord says, *My word that goeth forth out of my mouth shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.*¹⁾ Yet the same word, preached by the same messengers of God, does not produce the same effect in all who hear it. It was preached by Paul and Barnabas to certain Gentiles, who, when they heard it, *were glad and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.*²⁾ It was preached by Paul and Barnabas to certain Jews at the same place, and they *spoke against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming.*³⁾

Whence this difference? Was it because the Gentiles were by nature more favorably disposed toward the Gospel than the Jews? No; the Gentiles were by nature dead in sins and children of wrath, *even as others.*⁴⁾ Or was it because of a difference in the word? No; the word preached to the gainsaying Jews was the word of God,⁵⁾ and when they put it from them, they judged themselves unworthy of everlasting life,⁶⁾ which was truly and efficaciously offered to Jews and Gentiles alike, as by the same Gospel, *the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.*⁷⁾ When this Gospel was preached at Jerusalem, it met with resistance, and those who resisted did not set themselves against the apostles only, but *resisted the Holy Ghost,*⁸⁾ even as their fathers had done when they withstood and persecuted *the prophets,*⁹⁾ who preached to them the Gospel, *showing before the coming of the Just One.*¹⁰⁾ Yet by this same Gospel of Christ crucified, which was proscribed and prohibited by the priests and rulers,¹¹⁾ thousands were converted, and even a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith.¹²⁾ Thus

1) Is. 55, 11.

2) Acts 13, 48.

3) Acts 13, 45.

4) Eph. 2, 1—3. 11. 12.

5) Acts 13, 46; cf. 48.

6) Ibid.

7) Rom. 1, 16.

8) Acts 7, 51.

9) Acts 7, 52.

10) Ibid.

11) Acts 4, 1. 10—12. 17. 18.

12) Acts 6, 7; cf. 2, 41; 4, 4. 32.

was Christ crucified preached, *unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, yet unto them which were called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God,*¹⁾ the same Gospel, resisted by Jews and Gentiles in unbelief, and received by Jews and Gentiles in the obedience of faith.

Whence this difference? Two solutions present themselves, only two, and both of them are wrong. The one is the Calvinistic denial of the universality of divine grace, of the universality of Christ's redemption, and of the universal efficacy of the Gospel. The other is the synergistic denial of the universality of the total depravity of natural man, of spiritual death as the common state of all flesh born of the flesh. Both are denials of what, under their proper heads, we have shown to be doctrines clearly revealed and firmly established in the Scriptures. If the grace of God is not universal, if it never was God's good and gracious will that all men should be saved,²⁾ if Christ is not the Redeemer of all men,³⁾ if the Gospel is not everywhere efficacious,⁴⁾ then the difference of God's attitude toward men can account for the difference between regenerate and unregenerate men, as between those whom God would not and did not regenerate because he would not save them, and those whom God would and did regenerate because he would save them, and them only. Or, if all men are not alike in spiritual death, carnal, and enemies of God, by nature,⁵⁾ then the difference between the spiritual constitutions of different natural men

1) 1 Cor. 1, 23 f.

2) Against John 3, 16. 1 John 4, 9. 10. 1 Tim. 2, 4. Col. 1, 23. Matth. 11, 28. Ezek. 18, 31 f.

3) Against 2 Cor. 5, 14. 15. 19. John 1, 29. 1 John 2, 2. Col. 1, 20. Gal. 4, 5. Hebr. 2, 9. 1 Tim. 2, 6. Rom. 8, 32. 1 Cor. 8, 11. 2 Pet. 2, 1.

4) Against Mark 16, 15. Rom. 1, 16. Luke 10, 16. Rom. 10, 16. 21. Acts 7, 51; 13, 46. Is. 55, 10 f.

5) Against Rom. 3, 9. 23. Job. 15, 14. Ps. 51, 5; 14, 3. Eph. 2, 1. 2. 3. 5. Col. 2, 13. 1 Pet. 2, 10. Rom. 8, 7; 5, 7. Col. 1, 21. Eph. 4, 18. 1 Cor. 2, 14. Rom. 7, 18. 2 Cor. 3, 5.

may account for the difference between the attitude of some and that of others toward God and his grace and the means of grace, the attitude or conduct of some, who were better constituted, leading to their conversion, while the conduct of others, who were differently constituted, prevented their conversion. But while these supposed solutions of the problem are theologically false, because they are unscriptural, they are also philosophically false, because they are solutions that do not solve; for they do not finally answer the question, Whence the difference? They endeavor to explain the difference to be accounted for by falling back upon another difference which must also be accounted for. We ask the Calvinist, Whence this difference in God, this will to save some and not to save others in like perdition and condemnation, while God is one, and His will is one and indivisible? We ask the synergist, Whence this difference in men? Is it by nature? How can this be, as all men have their nature from a common origin by the same process of propagation? Is it by grace? Then why does not grace work the same in all? We know the cause, the sole cause, of the conversion of those who are converted; it is God. We know the cause of the persistence of others in their unconverted state; it is their own hardness of heart, *σκληρότης καὶ ἀμετανόητος καρδία*.¹⁾ This we know, because God has told us in the Scriptures. Beyond this our knowledge does not go, because beyond this revelation does not go.

There are, however, certain *dicta* in Scripture which have been adduced with a view of lending color to the synergistic perversion of the doctrine of regeneration or conversion. They are of two classes, the one comprising texts that deal with acts preparatory to conversion, the other, texts referring to acts subsequent to conversion in the strict sense of the term.

Regeneration or conversion in the strict sense is an instantaneous act or process. It is the quickening of one

1) Rom. 2, 5.

dead in sin into spiritual life; it is the bestowal of living faith, and a man must be either spiritually dead or in spiritual life, either in or without faith. There is no intermediate state through which he might pass for a length of time as by successive stages. But this transition from the one state into the other is, in adults, preceded by preparatory operations, whereby the sinner is convicted of his sinful state and helpless condition under divine wrath, by means of the law, and is, by reading the Scriptures or other books, or by oral instruction, led to a logical and historical understanding of the contents of the Gospel. Of all this, unregenerate man is, in a measure, capable. Cain and Judas knew that they had done evil and were under the righteous wrath of God; for *by the law is the knowledge of sin.*¹⁾ Felix trembled when Paul *reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,*²⁾ and the people of Nazareth, when Jesus had spoken to them, *all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.*³⁾ Yet Felix bade the preacher go his way, and the Nazarenes did not get beyond a passing wonderment and said, *Is not this Joseph's son?*⁴⁾ Indeed, this outward use of the means of grace and a certain logical and historical knowledge of the statements of the Law and the Gospel are not only within the power and reach of unconverted man, but are a prerequisite to his conversion. The man who persistently refuses to hear the word or to search the Scriptures cannot be converted, and whether a man will or will not hear what God would say to him is in a measure subject to the choice of his will. Felix, for a time, heard Paul as he discoursed on sin and righteousness, and then refused to hear him longer.⁵⁾ And God will certainly hold every man responsible for the use he has made of his oppor-

1) Rom. 3, 20; cf. Gen. 4, 13. Matt. 27, 4.

2) Acts 24, 25; cf. Acts 26, 26 ff.

3) Luke 4, 22.

4) Ibid.

5) Acts 24, 25.

tunities for hearing the word of salvation.¹⁾ But important as the hearing of the word most assuredly is, it is not tantamount to conversion. Augustine heard Ambrose for his oratory. Voltaire read the Psalms which he would ridicule. Celsus and Thomas Paine searched the Scriptures to refute them. The word may even rouse emotions in the hearer, as Felix trembled, and Agrippa said, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.*²⁾ Yet neither Felix nor Agrippa was converted, but Felix answered, *Go thy way*, and Agrippa said, *Paul, thou art beside thyself: much learning doth make thee mad.*³⁾ While man may decide to hear or not to hear, and while his will may set itself against the word he hears, it is not within the natural power of human will to yield to the power of God exerted in the Gospel and be converted. Man may determine himself to hear; but when he is converted by the word which he hears, it is not his will which determines him, but it is God who determines the will of man. By nature, every man is unwilling to be converted. *The carnal mind is enmity against God.* God only can change the will of man from evil to good, and this change does not precede conversion, but is itself conversion.

On the other hand, the instantaneous act of conversion superinduces a state to which a progressive spiritual transformation of the subject is peculiar. This process, beginning with conversion in the stricter sense and continuing while the state of faith and spiritual life endures, is conversion in the wider sense. In this sense the prophet, who has already been converted, says, *Turn thou me, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God. Surely after that I was turned, I repented.*⁴⁾ In the same sense regeneration is conceived as continuous in those who have been born into newness of life. Thus Paul writes to the Christians in Galatia, his children in Christ, *My little children, of whom*

1) Matt. 11, 21. 23. Mark 6, 45; 8, 22. Luke 9, 10; 10, 13. Rom. 2, 4. 5. Matt. 23, 37.

2) Acts 26, 28.

3) Acts 26, 24.

4) Jer. 31, 18.

*I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.*¹⁾ Of this progressive transformation in the regenerate the same apostle says, *Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind.*²⁾ This is also a work of God. *Turn thou me, and I shall be turned,* are words of a regenerate man, and he expressly adds, *For thou art the Lord my God.*³⁾ The Christians at Philippi are exhorted, *Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.*⁴⁾ But the apostle does not proceed, "For ye are now able to will and to do according to your good pleasure." His words are, *For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.*⁵⁾ While the regenerate are no longer dead in sin, but live and walk in newness of life, living branches in the vine, Christ, yet the Master says, *Without me ye can do nothing.*⁶⁾ The regenerate man is a good tree and as such *bringeth forth good fruit,*⁷⁾ and Paul writes, *Being made free from sin and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness.*⁸⁾ He says τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν, *YOUR fruit*, and the article indicates that such fruit is considered our proper fruit. But he also says of himself, *By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.*⁹⁾ In view of all this it is a gross perversion of the doctrine of conversion to ascribe to unregenerate man any measure of co-operation in his conversion in the stricter sense, and an abuse of Scripture to point out texts which deal with regenerate man and to apply them to unregenerate man. Conversion, whether in the narrower or in the wider sense, is a work of divine power and grace. But the *subjectum convertendum* in the former is a passive subject only, while in the latter it is an active subject. To confound the one with the other is like issuing a burial permit for a living man, or prescribing medicine and diet for a corpse.

1) Gal. 4, 19.

2) Rom. 12, 2.

3) Jer. 31, 18.

4) Phil. 2, 12.

5) Phil. 2, 13.

6) John 15, 5.

7) Matt. 7, 17.

8) Rom. 6, 22.

9) 1 Cor. 15, 10.

When Nicodemus first heard of regeneration, he saw himself face to face with a mystery. And when he asked, *How can a man be born when he is old?* the Master tells him, how: *of water and the spirit.* But he is so far from clearing away the mystery from this mysterious work of God, that he rather points out to his enquirer the hopelessness of his endeavors to fully comprehend and understand the subject of their discourse. *Marvel not, he says, that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goes: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.*¹⁾ Every regenerate man is a mysterious work of God. And this is not to be marveled at. There are thousands of other things, even natural things, which are beyond the full grasp of human understanding. Round about us and within us there are innumerable mysteries, and the new birth is but one of them. And when his visitor persists in his enquiry, *How can these things be?* Jesus reprimands him, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen, and ye receive not our witness.*²⁾ When God teaches us concerning the things pertaining to our salvation, also concerning regeneration or conversion, we are not to ask, *How can these things be?* but believe what he says and leave the rest to him. God has revealed to us what we should know here beneath in the manner and measure in which these things are to be taught and known here beneath. It was God's will that here we should know in part and that, accordingly, we should prophesy in part.³⁾ What he has reserved to himself in heaven, τὰ ἐπουράνια, shall be revealed to us in the light of glory. *When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away.*⁴⁾ Then Nicodemus, too, shall know "how these things could be."

1) John 3, 7 f.

3) 1 Cor. 13, 9.

2) John 3, 11.

4) 1 Cor. 13, 10.

SAVING FAITH.

Regeneration or conversion is essentially, *formaliter*, the bestowal of saving faith. What, then, is faith? It is the acceptance of the benefits of Christ. This is saving faith everywhere, in infants and adults.

What the peculiar manner of faith in infants may be beyond this we cannot know. But we know that *it is not the will of our Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish*,¹⁾ that the redemption which is in Christ Jesus should be appropriated to them also, that *of such is the kingdom of God*.²⁾ We know that whosoever believeth in Christ shall not perish,³⁾ and that *he that believeth not shall be damned*.⁴⁾ We know that baptism is the washing of regeneration,⁵⁾ which is essentially the bestowal of faith. We know that these little ones believe in Christ.⁶⁾ Knowing all this, we know that baptized infants, born again of water and the Spirit, are believers in Christ, having and holding the benefits of Christ. *Whosoever BELIEVETH on him shall RECEIVE remission of sins*.⁷⁾

In adults, likewise, saving faith is the acceptance or possession of the benefits of Christ. *As many as RECEIVED him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that BELIEVE on his name*.⁸⁾ Here to *receive* Christ and to *believe* on his name are used as synonymous terms. St. Paul writes in the same sense, *As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him*.⁹⁾ The benefits of Christ's redemption are offered in the gospel, a precious treasure in a precious shrine, so that he who takes the vessel also takes the treasure it contains. And Christ, speaking of his disciples, says, *I have given them the words which thou gavest me; and they have RECEIVED them, and*

1) Matt. 18, 14.

2) Matt. 19, 14. Mark 10, 14. 16. Luke 18, 16 f.

3) John 3, 16.

4) Mark 16, 16.

5) Tit. 3, 5.

6) Matt. 18, 2. 6.

7) Acts 10, 43.

8) John 1, 12.

9) Col. 2, 6.

have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have BELIEVED that thou didst send me.¹⁾ That the Samaritans received the word of God²⁾ says that they believed. Of those who receive the word with joy, the parable says, *For a while they believe.*³⁾ In his discourse with Nicodemus, Christ says, *Ye receive not our witness,*⁴⁾ and immediately after, *Ye believe not.*⁵⁾ When Luke writes, *They that gladly received his word were baptized,*⁶⁾ he uses but another form for, *All that believed,*⁷⁾ and, *Many of them which heard the word believed.*⁸⁾ The gospel is the divine offer of grace and blessing in Christ Jesus; faith is the acceptance thereof, and as such it is saving faith.

This acceptance being a mental, not a physical act, it is also described as *knowledge*. For οὐ παρέλαβον, *received him not,*⁹⁾ the previous context has the equivalent, οὐκ ἔγνων, *knew him not.*¹⁰⁾ To know, γινώσκειν, is to grasp with the mind, to obtain or have mental possession of that which is communicated. When the prophet says, *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many,*¹¹⁾ this is equivalent to the form, *by faith in him shall my righteous servant justify many;* and when Christ says, *This is life eternal, that they might KNOW thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent,*¹²⁾ this is of the same import as, *The just shall live by FAITH,*¹³⁾ and, *That BELIEVING ye might have life through his name.*¹⁴⁾ Of this saving knowledge as man's acceptance of what God gives St. Peter says, *His divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue.*¹⁵⁾ This is the γνώσις σωτηρίας ἐν ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν, *the knowledge of salvation with which is connected (ἐν) remission of sins.*¹⁶⁾

1) John 17, 8.

4) John 3, 11.

7) Acts 2, 44.

10) John 1, 10.

13) Rom. 1, 17.

16) Luke 1, 77.

2) Acts 8, 14.

5) John 3, 12.

8) Acts 4, 4.

11) Is. 53, 11.

14) John 20, 31.

3) Luke 8, 13.

6) Acts 2, 41.

9) John 1, 11.

12) John 17, 3.

15) 2 Pet. 1, 3.

This salutary knowledge, saving faith, is not a mere intellectual acquaintance with the object known, of which we read, *Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble.*¹⁾ It is a mental acceptance and appropriation of what God communicates in the gospel, whereby the believer makes that his own which is extended to him, and firmly clings to what he has thus appropriated to himself. The Hebrew אֱמוּנָה, *faith*, from יָמַן, *to be firm, to stand fast*, like יָמִין, *firmness*, יָמִין, *certainty*, אָמֵן, *Amen*, and the Greek πίστις, *faith*, from the root BHIDH, BHADH, whence we have πιστός, πιστεύω, πέπεισμαι, the Latin *fidus, fides*, the English *to bind, bond*, the German *Band, Bund*, and many other formations, indicate *firmness, unwavering confidence, full assurance*. The very word, *faith*, is, by its etymology, opposed to all manner of uncertainty or doubt. Thus πιστεύειν is used side by side with γινώσκειν ἀληθῶς, when Jesus says, *They have . . . KNOWN SURELY that I came from thee, and they have BELIEVED that thou didst send me.*²⁾ Πιστεύειν, *to believe*, means *to accept as true*,³⁾ *to confide in, to rely on.*⁴⁾ When God speaks in his word, the believer says, *Yea and Amen*. Thus the disciples of Christ *believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.*⁵⁾ When God promises his grace and blessing, offers forgiveness of sins, life and salvation, in the gospel, the believer does not reject or doubt the truth or sincerity of such promises, but accepts the offer and relies on the promise and assurance tendered in the word and sacraments. Thus πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι, *we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved.*⁶⁾ Abraham's faith is thus described: *He*

1) James 2, 19.

2) John 17, 8.

3) John 1, 26. Luke 22, 67. John 10, 25; 11, 27. 42; 20, 29; 17, 8; 5, 47. 1 John 5, 1. Matt. 9, 28.

4) 2 Tim. 1, 12. Rom. 4, 3. 5. 24; 6, 18; 9, 33. 1 Tim. 1, 16. Rom. 9, 33. Acts 9, 42; 22, 19. Luke 24, 25. John 12, 46; 2, 11; 3, 16. Rom. 10, 14. Gal. 2, 16.

5) John 2, 22.

6) Acts 15, 11.

*staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God, and being fully persuaded that, what he had promised, he was able also to perform.*¹⁾ And Paul professes his faith saying, *I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.*²⁾ As there can be no reliance without something to rely on, so there can be no faith without a divine assurance or promise. Now, God is true, and his word toward us is not yea and nay, but *all the promises of God in Christ are yea, and in him Amen.*³⁾ Faith is the human *yea and Amen* based upon this divine *yea and Amen*, which by its very nature excludes every doubt and uncertainty. Doubt is *pro tanto* unbelief.⁴⁾ The difference between the assurance of faith and the certainty of human knowledge based upon the testimony of the senses and on experience or experiment is not that the former were less and the latter more certain, but *vice versa*, faith is more sure than any merely human assurance can be. For the foundation whereon it rests is far more firm and reliable than the facts and fancies underlying merely human assurance. St. Peter, having pointed to what as an eyewitness he had seen and heard, continues, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy,*⁵⁾ *βεβαιώτερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον.* As the prophetic word is more sure, *βεβαιώτερον*, than the evidence of the senses and human observation and experience, so faith, derived from and based upon that word, is more than human assurance. On the other hand, what claims the dignity of faith, but is not derived from and based on the divine word, is not faith but fanaticism. Faith may come short of the full measure as, being weak, it fails to grasp and hold all that the word affords. But nothing short of or besides the word can establish faith, and where the word has ceased, faith must cease.

1) Rom. 4, 20 f.

2) 2 Tim. 1, 12.

3) 2 Cor. 1, 18—20.

4) Rom, 4, 20. Matt. 14, 31. Mark 4, 40.

5) 2 Pet. 1, 16—19.

This must be especially maintained with regard to Christian hope. Hope is the grounded expectation of things desired, and the ground of Christian hope is the word of divine promise. Thus Christian hope is essentially faith concerning things to come,¹⁾ as Abraham *believed in hope*,²⁾ firmly relying on the promise of God, *being fully persuaded that, what he had promised, he was able also to perform*.³⁾ This is also a purpose of the written word, *that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope*.⁴⁾ Whatever would pass as Christian hope must prove its title by the word of divine promise laid down in the Scriptures. St. Peter says, *Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you*.⁵⁾ But without a word of divine promise there can be no such readiness, because without such promise there is no reason of hope and, in fact, no hope, no grounded expectation, but an idle dream. The hope in which we may rejoice,⁶⁾ by which we *are saved*,⁷⁾ as in *hope of eternal life*,⁸⁾ the hope unto which God has begotten us again as *unto a lively hope*,⁹⁾ could not stand and prevail in the tempests of life and in the billows of death if it were based on any foundation less sure and abiding than the infallible word of God, the promises of God in the Scriptures, which are yea and Amen in Christ.¹⁰⁾

IN CHRIST. The cardinal subject, Alpha and Omega, of Scripture is Christ, the author and finisher of our faith.¹¹⁾ *To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins*.¹²⁾ Christ the Savior as taught in the Scriptures is the *fundamentum personale* of saving faith. The name of Christ is Christ as he has revealed himself and as he would be known

1) Rom. 8, 24. Tit. 1, 2; 3, 7. 1 Pet. 1, 3. 13. al.

2) Rom. 4, 18.

3) Rom. 4, 20 f.

4) Rom. 15, 4.

5) 1 Pet. 3, 15.

6) Rom. 5, 2; 12, 12.

7) Rom. 8, 24.

8) Tit. 1, 2; 2, 7.

9) 1 Pet. 1, 3.

10) 1 Cor. 1, 20.

11) Hebr. 12, 2.

12) Acts 10, 43.

by us, Jesus, the Savior, Christ, our Righteousness, and to believe on his name, πιστεῦεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,¹⁾ is trust in him of whom it is said, *Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.*²⁾ Not the so-called historical Christ, but the Christ exhibited in the gospel,³⁾ is the rock of our salvation, on whom we must repose our confidence unto life everlasting, πιστεῦεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,⁴⁾ and *whosoever believeth on him, ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, shall not be ashamed.*⁵⁾ This is, in brief, the divine plan of salvation, that God gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, looks to him in firm, unwavering confidence, πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτόν, should not perish, but have everlasting life.⁶⁾ This is faith in Christ, πίστις εἰς Χριστόν,⁷⁾ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν,⁸⁾ the trust and confidence directed upon Christ, laying hold of him as our only help in every trouble, in the depth of sin and guilt, under the curse of the law, in our struggles with the enemies of our salvation, in trials and tribulations, in the agony of death, in view of the yawning gulf of hell. And as the redemption which is in Christ Jesus is God's own salvation, the salvation provided by him through Jesus Christ, faith is also reliance on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead,⁹⁾ on him that justifieth the ungodly.¹⁰⁾

Such is the nature of faith as saving faith. As such it must not be confounded with faith as an active principle in the regenerate, *faith which worketh by love,*¹¹⁾ or as itself a work according to the first commandment.¹²⁾ When the apostle says, *By grace are ye saved through faith, διὰ τῆς πίστεως,*¹³⁾ faith is conceived merely as the acceptance of the benefits of Christ, whereby the believer appropriates to him-

1) John 1, 12; cf. 3, 18.

2) Acts 4, 12.

3) John 20, 31.

4) 1 Tim. 1, 16.

5) Rom. 9, 33.

6) John 3, 16.

7) Acts 24, 24; 26, 18.

Col. 2, 5.

8) Acts 20, 21.

9) Rom. 4, 24.

10) Rom. 4, 5.

11) Gal. 5, 6.

12) Prov. 3, 5.

13) Eph. 2, 8.

self what is offered in the gospel and with firm reliance on the divine word and on Christ in the word lays hold of his Redeemer, the Lord his Righteousness and his salvation. Thus faith is not a cause of our salvation. We are not saved *διὰ τῆν πίστιν*, *because of faith*, but *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*, *by or through faith*.¹⁾ Faith is not properly a condition of our salvation, to be fulfilled by us. Faith is rather the means, mode, or method, whereby we are saved. God offers and gives, and we receive and take. God gives by the gospel in the word and sacraments, and we take by faith. What is given and taken is salvation. Thus are we saved by the word²⁾ and by baptism;³⁾ thus are we saved by faith.⁴⁾

Inasmuch as faith is the acceptance of what God offers in the gospel, the yea and Amen of the heart believing what God says and promises in the word, it is an act of the believer's mind responding to the divine act of offering and assuring what God would have us accept and believe. The centurion had, in a particular instance, when he sought relief for his stricken servant, placed his trust and confidence in Christ, being assured that his petition would be granted; and Jesus said, *As thou hast believed, ἐπίστευσας, so be it unto thee*.⁵⁾ When the angel had announced to Mary that she should be the mother of the Son of God, she said, *Be it unto me according to thy word*,⁶⁾ and Elisabeth, praising the virgin's faith and professing her own, said, *Blessed is she that believed; for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord*.⁷⁾ Whenever a believer hears a word of divine promise or assurance, or partakes of the Lord's sacrament, he, by an act of his mind, lays hold of such promise or assurance extended to him in that word or sacrament, appropriates to himself anew what is given him anew, as in the word of absolution, say-

1) Eph. 2, 8.

2) Acts 11, 14. James 1, 21.

3) Tit. 3; 5. 1 Pet. 3, 21.

4) Eph. 2, 8.

5) Matt. 8, 13.

6) Luke 1, 38.

7) Luke 1, 45.

ing in his heart, "I believe, trust and confide in what my God has again declared to me."

But faith is also conceived as a state, as the continued possession of the benefits of Christ by an enduring confidence in Christ the Savior and the promises of the gospel. *Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith*, says Paul.¹⁾ We read of those who are *established in the faith*,²⁾ who *continue in faith*,³⁾ whose *faith is increased*,⁴⁾ and of others who *for a while believe*.⁵⁾ Paul says, *I have kept the faith*,⁶⁾ and Jesus says to Peter, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, μή ἐκλείπῃ, may not give out or come to an end*.⁷⁾ A Christian's life is a life of faith. He says with St. Paul, *The life which I live I live by the faith of the Son of God*.⁸⁾ Even in a state of unconsciousness, when he is incapable of performing any voluntary act, as when in profound sleep, or in the delirium of fever, or in amentia brought on by disease, or in narcosis under the surgeon's knife, a child of God is at all times and everywhere bound up with Christ by faith. Christ not only sojourns, but *dwells in our hearts by faith*,⁹⁾ enduring faith, which has and holds Christ and all his benefits as an enduring possession. This faith may be *increased*,¹⁰⁾ growing in extension or intensity, as more of the saving truth of God comes within its grasp, or as that grasp becomes more firm and tenacious. Abraham *was strong in faith*,¹¹⁾ others are *weak in the faith*.¹²⁾ Jesus reproves his disciples for being of *little faith*, *ὀλιγόπιστοι*.¹³⁾ Their faith lacked in vigor and firmness, in intensity; when they should have been sure of their safety in their Lord's presence, they were *fearful*.¹⁴⁾ Peter, seeing the wind boisterous, was *afraid*. Though he was not entirely without faith, but cried, *Lord, save me*, yet Jesus said to him, *O thou of*

1) 2 Cor. 13, 5.

2) Col. 2, 7.

3) 1 Tim. 4, 7.

4) 2 Cor. 10, 15.

5) Luke 8, 13.

6) 2 Tim. 4, 7.

7) Luke 22, 32.

8) Gal. 2, 20.

9) Eph. 3, 17; cf. Gal. 2, 20.

10) 2 Cor. 10, 15.

11) Rom. 4, 20.

12) Rom. 14, 1.

13) Matt. 6, 30; 8, 26.

Luke 12, 28.

14) Matt. 8, 26.

*little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?*¹⁾ Again, the Syrophenician woman exhibited a firmness of faith which gained for her the Master's approving testimony, *O woman, great is thy faith,*²⁾ and of the heathen centurion's faith Jesus said admiringly, *I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.*³⁾ Theirs was a faith that could not be shaken by doubt as to the Savior's power or willingness to grant their petitions, a faith which rested on and confided in the word of Christ. But as our faith should grow in intensity, it should also grow in extension, that we be *enriched in all utterance and in all knowledge.*⁴⁾ This, too, is accomplished by continued training in the saving truth of the gospel. For this purpose Christ has established the ministry of the word, and gives us pastors and teachers to instruct us, *till we all come in the unity of the FAITH, and of the KNOWLEDGE of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.*⁵⁾ Thus are we *Rooted and built up in Christ, and established in the faith, as we have been taught.*⁶⁾ With this purpose in view we should also search the Scriptures, *which are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.*⁷⁾ The weakness of faith in the disciples of Christ consisted in this that they were *slow of heart to believe ALL that the prophets have spoken;*⁸⁾ and to build up and strengthen their faith, Jesus *opened their understanding that they might understand the scriptures,*⁹⁾ and *beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.*¹⁰⁾

This growth of faith is the gift of God. Paul writes to the Thessalonian Christians, *We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your*

1) Matt. 14, 30 f.

2) Matt. 16, 28.

3) Matt. 8, 10.

4) 1 Cor. 1, 5.

5) Eph. 4, 13. 14.

6) Col. 2, 7.

7) 2 Tim. 3, 15.

8) Luke 24, 25.

9) Luke 24, 45.

10) Luke 24, 27.

*faith groweth exceedingly.*¹⁾ And as for the growth of faith thanks are due to God, so also for faith itself as a gift of God, a blessing bestowed upon us by regeneration. *Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God.*²⁾ We believe according to the working of his mighty power.³⁾ To believe in Christ is a gift of grace. To you, says Paul, *it is given, ἐχαρίσθη, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεῖν, but also to suffer for his sake.*⁴⁾ By the ministers of Christ who preach the Gospel of Christ, God, whose ministers they are and whose work they perform through his means of grace, engenders faith in the hearts of the hearers. Thus we read, *Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?*⁵⁾ Hence our faith does not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God,⁶⁾ and we are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.⁷⁾

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1) 2 Thess. 1, 3.

2) 1 John 5, 1.

3) Eph. 1, 19.

4) Phil. 1, 29.

5) 1 Cor. 3, 5.

6) 1 Cor. 2, 5.

7) 1 Pet. 1, 5.

Exegetical Theology.

“THIS IS MY BODY.”

A correspondent, referring to the pronoun, τοῦτο, in the words, Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, writes, “From what you say I infer that it points out what Jesus gave to his disciples, that is, *bread* and *his body*. Do you regard the pronoun as directly and grammatically demonstrative of these two things?”

In our article on *the Lord's Supper*¹⁾ we said, “Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, *This is my body*. The statement is very plain and simple. The sentence consists of a subject, τοῦτο, and a predicate, τὸ σῶμά μου, connected by the copula, ἐστίν. Τοῦτο, *this*, the neutral demonstrative pronoun, points to what Jesus gave and of which he said, *take, eat.*”²⁾ We circumscribed the words, “*This, which I give you and bid you take and eat, is my body.*”³⁾ Again we said, “When, by the demonstrative pronoun, *this*, he points to what he really gives to be really taken and eaten, what can he mean but really *this* which he really gives?”⁴⁾ In all these statements we referred the pronoun, τοῦτο, to what Jesus then and there gave his disciples and would have them take and eat and drink. We do not hold that τοῦτο is “directly and grammatically demonstrative of these two things,” the bread and Christ's body. This would be the case if Christ had said, Δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ σῶμά μου· τοῦτο σ. ταῦτα λάβετε καὶ φάγετε—I give you bread and my body; this take and eat. But such are not the words of Christ, and in what Christ said, the pronoun cannot thus be directly and grammatically referred to the words, *bread* and *my body*. On the other hand, it is not a matter of arbitrary choice how we

1) THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. V, pp. 65 ff.

2) L. c. p. 71.

3) Ibid. p. 75.

4) Ibid. p. 76 f.

would refer the pronoun. Here as elsewhere the context must decide. According to the context, these words, *This is my body*, were spoken in the course of a continuous action, of which Christ said, *Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, This do*. In the act of *giving* to his disciples the *bread which he had blessed*, Jesus said, *Take, eat, this is my body*. All this must be taken together to determine the meaning of *τοῦτο*. What Jesus would say is, *THIS, which I give you to eat as I give you this consecrated bread, IS MY BODY*. That he gave them bread, the disciples saw and thus knew without being told. That he gave them more than mere bread, they could not see, nor could they know without being told. Hence Jesus tells them that with the sacramental bread he gave them his body: *Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*.

That, as in the present case, *τοῦτο* is not demonstrative of a particular word, but must be determined by the trend of the context, is by no means singular or even of rare occurrence in secular and sacred Greek. One of the uses of the demonstrative pronoun is, "*quo idem totam prae-missam orationem ita involvit, ut Latini non nisi per periphrasin reddere queant.*"¹⁾ We have another example in the words of institution, in the injunction, *Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, x. τ. λ.*,²⁾ where *τοῦτο* does not point to a particular word, but to the action described in the previous context. What Jesus would say is, *This, which is here now being enacted, do in remembrance of me*. When Jesus says to a certain lawyer, *Τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ζήσῃ, This do and thou shalt live*,³⁾ *τοῦτο* refers to the import of the entire answer of the lawyer recorded in the previous context. At the close of the narrative of Peter's vision at Joppa, we read, *Τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς, This was done thrice*,⁴⁾ *τοῦτο* pointing to the contents of vv. 11—15. Other instances of the same usage we

1) Vigeri *De praec. Graecae dictionis idiomatismis liber*, ed. Hermann II, p. 178.

2) 1 Cor. 11, 24. 25.

3) Luke 10, 28.

4) Acts 10, 16; cf. 11, 10.

have in *Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, All this was done;*¹⁾ *Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, for this is expedient for you;*²⁾ *Τοῦτό ἐστιν δίκαιον, this is right;*³⁾ *Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν εὐάρεστον ἐν κυρίῳ, for this is well pleasing in the Lord;*⁴⁾ *Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, for that is acceptable before God.*⁵⁾ In all these and many other cases, the demonstrative pronoun refers to what has been proposed in the previous context and is now in the hearer's or reader's mind, and to indicate the relation of the pronoun, we would supply words as, *This, viz. which ye see me enact, which this commandment enjoins, which I have here related, which I intend to do, which I have exhorted you to do, etc.*

Our interpretation of the words, *Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, This is my body*, and of the corresponding words, *Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, This is my blood*, is, furthermore, substantiated by the words of St. Paul: *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*⁶⁾ The “cup of blessing which we bless,” and “the bread which we break,” are the sacramental elements in the sacramental act. As such they are not simply identical with, but “the communion of,” the body and blood of Christ. By eating the sacramental bread, we become partakers, not only of the bread, but of that which is given us with the bread, the body of Christ. By drinking the sacramental wine, we become partakers not only of the visible contents of the cup, but also of what is given us invisibly with the consecrated wine, the blood of Christ. This is precisely what the words of Christ would say, *This, viz. which I give you in distributing this consecrated bread, and which I would have you take and eat therewith, is my body;* and *this, viz. which I give you and which I would have you drink as I bid you drink of this consecrated cup, is my blood.*

1) Matt. 21, 4.

2) 2 Cor. 8, 10.

3) Eph. 6, 1.

4) Col. 3, 20.

5) 1 Tim. 5, 4.

6) 1 Cor. 10, 16.

It is remarkable that, however widely interpreters have differed as to the meaning of the words of institution, they are with few exceptions agreed on this point, that τοῦτο here means "*id quod do et quod vos sumere et edere jubeo*;" "This which I give you" (Schäffer); "This, viz. 'This which I hand you'" (Jacobs); "Dieses, was ihr nehmen und essen sollet" (Meyer). Meyer is wrong when he gives the full paraphrase: "*Dieses, was ihr nehmen und essen sollet, dieses zerstückelte Brot, ist symbolisch mein Leib, ist das Symbol meines Leibes, welcher im Begriffe ist, getödtet zu werden.*" But in the grammatical determination of τοῦτο he is with us. Thus also Thomasius says,¹⁾ "Interpret the τοῦτο as you will, it cannot mean anything else than what the Savior gives to his disciples: *hoc, quod vobis porrigo, quod vos sumere jubeo.*" Thomasius continues: "That this is bread and wine, he does not say; but the whole gospel narrative says it; for it is the broken bread and the cup with wine that he gives them." This is not equally correct. If τοῦτο points, as it does, to "what the Savior gives his disciples, *hoc, quod vobis porrigo, quod vos sumere jubeo*," it points not only to bread and wine, but also to what, according to the same gospel narrative, the Savior gives besides and beyond the bread and wine, and just as truly as the bread and wine. For *hoc, quod nobis porrigit, quod nos sumere jubet*, is both the bread and his body, both the wine and his blood. Balduin states the same position thus: *Quid autem illud est, quod manducare debeant disertis verbis exprimit: HOC EST CORPUS MEUM. Particula δεξιῶν HOC non nudum panem intelligit, sed integrum complexum, seu totum id quod Christus discipulos manducare jubebat. . . . HOC ergo, quod Christus dedit, ei discipuli accipiunt, EST, non significat aliquid absens.*²⁾

A. G.

1) *Christi Person und Werk*, vol. IV, p. 57.

2) *Comment. in omnes epp. Pauli*, ad 1 Cor. 11, 24.

Historical Theology.

A LESSON ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION.

I.

The earliest Lutheran settlement in America was Christina in New Sweden. The beginning of this community was, especially in its religious aspect, intensely Swedish. The colonists were Swedes, and the members of the congregation were the same Swedes. The home government was Swedish; the colonial and local government was also Swedish. The pastor was a Swede. The language spoken in the church, the homes, the councils of peace and war, was Swedish. Customs and manners and ceremonies were Swedish. The lifeless landmarks, the posts marking the boundaries of New Sweden, bore the Swedish coat of arms. And it was intended and ordained that all this should endure. Especially were the colonists charged to guard the doctrine of the church against all Calvinistic leaven, to adhere to the customs and manners of the mother country, and to preserve the Swedish mother tongue in all its purity. To this effect even the proper names, the names of rivers and towns, were to be, not "outlandish," but Swedish.

When, in 1655, seventeen years after the landing of the first colonists, Christina and all of New Sweden fell under Dutch and Calvinistic rule, the Swedish Lutherans remained both Swedish in language and Lutheran in faith. Their faithful minister, Lars Lock, lived to see the political government of the colony pass from Swedish to Dutch, from Dutch to English, from English to Dutch, and again from Dutch to English hands; but to the end of his life, in 1788, he ministered to Swedish Lutherans in their mother tongue. During his lifetime and after his death Swedish lay readers, such excellent men as Carl Christoph Springer and Andreas

Bengtson, read to their brethren from the old Swedish Lutheran postils and led them in singing their Swedish Lutheran hymns, even when, for a considerable time, all intercourse between the forgotten Swedes and Lutherans on the Delaware and the mother country had ceased. We are informed by the ancient manuscript chronicles in the archives of *Gloria Dei* that while Andreas Bengtson read from *Molleris Postilla* in the church, the young people, if they came at all, would come for race riding and other amusements. And yet, in a letter of May 31, 1693, signed by thirty representatives of these congregations and accompanied by a list giving upwards of nine hundred souls, we find the statement, "We all of us understand Swedish." Two of the men then living, Peter Rembo and Andr. Bonde, had been in this country for fifty-four years. With the list went an order for Swedish books, viz: 12 Bibles, 3 Postils, 42 Manuals, 100 Books of Devotion, 200 Catechisms, and 200 Primers. That the people for whom this letter of May 31, 1693, was written, were not only Swedes but also Lutherans appears from the request made in the letter that the king, to whom it was directed, would send them Swedish preachers "who are well learned and well trained in Holy Scripture, who could well defend themselves and us against all false teachers and strange sects which may surround us and be in opposition to us in our true and pure, unadulterated worship and Lutheran religion, which we even now before God and all the world always do profess and shall profess and which, if it should be necessary, which God may prevent, we shall seal with our own blood."

All this was written in Swedish. But the writer, Mr. Carl Springer, and his fellow Swedes and Lutherans had not lived these many years in isolated seclusion from their English speaking neighbors, and had also acquired a knowledge of the English language. Springer, who had immigrated to this country in ripe manhood, was sufficiently familiar with English to prepare a translation of the letter which a promi-

nent citizen of Göteborg, Postmaster Thelin, had addressed to his rediscovered countrymen in Pennsylvania in 1692. Of this translation, which was intended for Governor Markham, we give the following specimen:—

“Honoured good friends and Countrymen,

The occasion which make me give you the honour to write to you is that I the last yeare past was in Stockholm; then came a man Andrew Printz and mett me there, which hath his relation heare in the Citty, which I knew had certainly been with an English shipp in the West Indies, and I much rejoiced at his safe arrival; and I asking and questioning him whether he had a prosperous jorney, so he not onely had found there (: as he thanked God for his health and me informed:) a good land, but also the ould Sweeds in a good prosperity, and how that they heartely rejoiced to see him who was a Sweed, and that they had the opportunity to know how they did in their own Native Country.”

This, then, was the state of things which prevailed among the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware fifty-five years after the settlement of Christina. In a foreign land, abandoned and forgotten by friends and brethren at home, surrounded by neighbors from whom they differed in language and creed, with no Swedish immigration and scanty instruction in churches and schools to retard the process of assimilation which their surroundings and associations would naturally tend to bring about, these people still knew of no other and certainly no better way of providing for their spiritual wants than by petitioning for Swedish Lutheran preachers and Swedish Lutheran books for old and young, for church and school and the family altar.

And now the beginning of the second period of Swedish Lutheranism in America was at hand. The petition which marks the end of the first period found open ears and willing hands. In the summer of 1697, three Swedish missionaries arrived in America, Andr. Rudman, Eric Tobias

Biörck, and Jonas Auren. They brought with them a supply of Swedish books, 30 large Bibles, 6 Postils, 50 Manuals, 100 volumes of Meditations for family worship, 100 hymn-books, 2 Liturgies, 2 Church-Orders, 100 copies of Swebilius' Catechisms, 300 copies of the Small Catechism, and 400 ABC-books, or Primers. Before the close of the century, the congregations at Christina and Wicaco worshiped in new churches, *Trinity Church* at Christina and *Gloria Dei* at Philadelphia, to which the Swedes came from their scattered dwellings, from up the river and down the river, and the busy preachers had their hands full of more work than they could do. In an episcopal letter of June 25, 1696, which is still preserved in the archives of *Gloria Dei*, Archbishop Olaus Swebilius had charged the ministers to "teach and preach, pure and clear, God's holy and saving word, as it is fully set forth in the canonical books of holy Scripture, of the prophets in the Old, and the apostles in the New Testament of the Holy Bible, and briefly explained in the ecumenical Symbols of the Christian church, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, and especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and other Symbolical Books accepted by the Evangelical Church, without any human superstition and strange doctrine. Besides, they should in full accord with God's own institution and ordinance properly administer the holy sacraments, and by diligent preaching, catechization and instruction inculcate the Catechism and Lessons for the Young according to the right meaning and foundation thereof."

The duty here last enjoined, while it was of first importance for the future welfare of the churches, was precisely that which the Swedish preachers were least able to fulfill, and the Swedish people least ready to appreciate. That the children of the church should be trained as young Christians and members of the church was acknowledged on all sides. This appears from the request of the people for Catechisms and Primers and the supply of such books brought over by

the ministers even beyond the numbers requested. That the most efficient way to secure Christian training for the young would be by Christian schools was also recognized by word and deed in the various efforts made for the establishment of Swedish schools in the congregations at Christina, Wicaco, Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck.¹⁾ But these efforts were not of sufficient energy and endurance to yield satisfactory results. Beyond what the Swedish mothers did in their homes by way of teaching their children to read from the Swedish Primers and Catechisms, not very much was done by pastors and teachers toward training the young in the Lutheran doctrine and the Swedish language.

On the other hand, the Swedish ministers were not slow in acquiring a fair knowledge of English. At the dedication of *Gloria Dei*, of which Rudman was pastor, in 1700, Biörck of Christina preached a Swedish sermon; but by request he repeated his sermon in English before the close of the service. After his return from New York, where he had, in 1702 and 1703, served the Dutch Lutherans, Rudman preached to Anglican congregations in and near Philadelphia to the end of his life. At his burial, his friend Biörck preached the funeral sermon in English on Ps. 73, 24, and he, too, preached before English congregations at New Castle and other places in the neighborhood. Auren, who had come over the sea with Rudman and Biörck, preached to the English on Elk River. Sandel, Rudman's successor at Philadelphia, frequently ministered in Anglican churches. Biörck's successor, Andr. Hesselius, who arrived in 1712, and his brother, Samuel Hesselius, who came in 1719, served as supplies in English pulpits, the latter to such an extent that his Swedish people loudly complained of being neglected by their pastor who, instead of visiting the sick and catechizing the young of his own Lutheran flock, devoted his

1) See our article on *Religious training in the earlier Lutheran church in America*, THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Vol. IV, pp. 432 ff.

time and energies to vacant English charges. Peter Tranberg, who had arrived in 1726 and served the congregation on Raccoon Creek and, since 1728, also that at Pennsneck, preached to the English in the neighborhood. At Philadelphia, Tranberg, in 1737, installed a new pastor of *Gloria Dei*, John Dylander, a talented man, who, though his ministry lasted but four years, acquired such fluency in the use of the English language that he became a favorite preacher in English churches. During his pastorate regular English evening services were introduced in *Gloria Dei* church. From his day on, the Swedes' church came to be by preference the place where bridal couples sought the benediction upon their union, until the Anglican pastor appeared before the Governor with a serious but fruitless complaint, stating that he suffered a severe diminution of his income since the English went to the Swedish minister to be married. In the records of 1739, we find the following entry, in English:—

“In the Year 1739, May ye 16 was held a general Assembly of ye Congregation at Wicaco, when following affairs were taken in consideration, viz. . . .

4. The Congregation Allowed ye Parson what he can get from ye English or ye Germans by preaching for y^m with provisal y^t what hitherto was gathered in the Box as well in ye afternoon as forenoon should belong to ye Church. But what henceforward is to be gathered in ye forenoon must be employed to ye benefit of ye Church.”

In 1742, the year after Dylander's death, the church council at Christina, which had by that time become Wilmington, in a meeting held on Nov. 13, resolved that the English afternoon services which had been introduced should be continued, but that the Swedish services should be conducted from beginning to end in the old Swedish way. On Ascension Day of the same year, at a meeting of the congregation at Pennsneck, the Swedes who were present declared that under the prevailing circumstances it would

be best to discontinue the Swedish services altogether and have English preaching only. In this way they hoped to gain members from among their English neighbors and thus become strong enough to support a minister of their own. Their deliberations led to the resolution, that thenceforth public services in the church at Pennsneck should be exclusively English, and conducted according to the Prayer-book of the Episcopal church of England. When, in 1747, John Sandin took charge of the Raccoon Creek and Pennsneck churches, the Pennsneck people, in a paper with 85 signatures, declared their grateful willingness to accept the new pastor, "although most of them were English." At Wicaco, the English services were, at that time, still looked upon as more or less a private affair of the minister carried on with the permission and sanction of the congregation. The records, kept in English by the pastor, Gabriel Näsman, say:—

"Anno 1747, y^e 16 of May y^e Trustees, Westry and Gentry of y^e Congregation was together and concluded. . . .

"4^o John Bengtson and Abraham Jonson or either of y^m to give an account for money collected in y^e Church at y^e Sweed Service."

The collections of the English services were evidently looked upon as being, like these services themselves, the pastor's rather than the congregation's business. In 1749 we find another entry, saying that "Y^e Minister should have liberty to preach in y^e French, or Dutch or English language, besides y^e Sweed, as he could see fit."

But about the middle of the century, a knowledge of English was looked upon as indispensable in the equipment of a Swedish missionary in America. When, in 1749, Israel Acrelius was appointed for this position, he wrote to Prof. Hallenius, "I would rather face inevitable death than undertake this work, for I was entirely ignorant of the English language; that Swedish was in our American churches in a great degree forgotten and neglected, so that it might

be that for the first year I could do little or no service in all the work necessary to be done in the various charges committed to me."

In the following we give extracts from the records of Trinity church at Wilmington kept by Acrelius.

"I judge it to be necessary to keep the records of the church in the Swedish language without any mixture of English, but the writing will be in Roman letters instead of Swedish, as heretofore.

"1st, That they who understand Swedish and can write with English letters may here find good reading, as no Swedish American at present can read anything written with Swedish letters. . . .

"3d. I have bought a number of Swedish hymnbooks in the same style . . . and also humbly requested that the books sent hereafter may be of the same sort, thus making the instruction of the young more easy. My successors, who will reap the harvest of this, I hope, will never deviate from this, and also will earnestly endeavor to keep up the knowledge of the Swedish language, their mother tongue, which is now much declined. . . .

"The Christian teaching is in a very sorrowful state, both as to quality and practice. From the time of the departure of Provost Andreas Hesselius no Swedish school has been kept, and the children have gone to English schoolmasters who have simply taught them to read. Some of the people have taught their children in Swedish so far as they thought necessary. The late pastor Tranberg is said to have sometimes catechized the children, but as no record was kept, I do not know what children they were, nor what prayers were used and taught. Another sign of great ignorance in Doctrine is that the Lord's supper is fallen into contempt.

"On the 27 of December (1749) a general parish meeting was called and the following matters were presented and acted upon. . . .

“4th. The fact that the Swedish language had very much fallen out of use was mentioned and that the reason was that few of the young came to church, and that they seemed not to comprehend how necessary it was to keep up the language if they expect any more Swedish preachers, and how much greater the advantage to have preaching in the mother tongue than in English and because such abundance of Swedish books have time after time been sent over, and still more are to be expected. . . .

“Experience had taught me that it was useless to call them to a general meeting, for few would come, especially when it was a question of raising money. So I found it best both at this time and afterwards to avail myself of some Sunday when I saw that there was a full congregation, to request that all should remain in their seats, so that the women folk, who in many houses rule more than the men, might have an opportunity to hear what was presented, and thereafter for their part both agree and direct for the best, and also to show to the Swedish wives of English husbands that they must hereafter do their duty if they expect to remain members of the congregation.

“In pursuance of this, on the 7th of October (1750), which was the 17th Sunday after Trinity, I spoke to the congregation as follows. . . .

“2d. Now as I had already held divine service twice in English and proposed to continue and have it every fourth Sunday, therefore, because some of the church had expressed dissatisfaction therewith, part for fear that the Swedes would be crowded out of their seats by strangers, and part for the apprehension that in the end the strangers would prevail in the concerns of the church, I consulted the congregation about it and there were none who had anything against it, though none of them believed that the strange folk would crowd the church every fourth Sunday.

“In the month of February (1752) I began to hear the catechism in this wise. . . . The youth were examined in

Swedish so far as practicable, and all were encouraged and exhorted to adhere to their native speech with strong determination. Those who could not express themselves in Swedish had liberty to read in English.

"At first very few came together. Then the number increased more and more. I also made a list of all who by right belonged to the church, whether they understood Swedish or English, and have a right to go to the Lord's supper henceforth."

Thus we see Provost Acrelius endeavoring to do what was in his power toward preserving the Swedish language and worship to his flock, without entirely neglecting the wants of those who were no longer accessible in Swedish. He also advised the ministers under his supervision to preserve the Swedish language in their congregations and to keep their records in Swedish. But while trying to satisfy both parties, he satisfied neither party. To some he was too Swedish; to others he was too English.

At Philadelphia, too, the change was making progress. On July 7, 1750, the new minister for *Gloria Dei*, Olaf Parlin, arrived at Philadelphia. The record of a meeting of May 16, 1751, in his own hand, says: "I was given permission to preach English in the church after noon as often as opportunity may be offered." Parlin died in 1757; at his burial, pastor Eric Unander preached an English sermon on Zech. 13, 7, and, two days later, Past. John Abr. Lidenius preached a Swedish funeral sermon on 2 Tim. 4, 6—8. On the same day, Dec. 26, the congregation resolved to ask the Archbishop and the Consistory for an *Ordinarius* to succeed Parlin, and in the letter addressed to the Consistory they petitioned that "he who may be most graciously designated should receive permission now and then, at least after noon, to preach English, since our families are so mixed, and the members of our households could thus have like edification and enjoy the same doctrine with us." Thus, what had formerly been left to the discretion of the minis-

ters was now asked by the congregation as a measure craved by a growing want.

The man who was commissioned to succeed Parlin in the pastorate and provostship was Dr. Carl Magnus Wrangel. He arrived in April, 1759. In 1760 he preached an English sermon before a meeting of Swedes and Germans during the convention of the German Ministerium. For the instruction of the young people "who understood neither Swedish nor German" he proposed a new English translation of Luther's Small Catechism. Two years later we find him conducting English revival meetings in Philadelphia. In 1765 he was recalled by the authorities in Sweden, and in spite of remonstrances submitted to them from various sides, his superiors insisted on his return. Still another effort was made to induce them to reconsider their decision. The records of the Vestry, which were now kept in English, say:—

"When the Rev. Doct. Wrangle made the Wardens and Vestrymen acquainted with his being called home to Sweden, by the R. Rev. Archbishop & Consistory of the said place, the Reasons being given by the Docter for such a Call, likewise taking into consideration a petition from several of the congregation at Wicaco, as also from the principal Subscribers to a Seminary of learning instituted & set up near the Church at s. place, for the Docters further stay among us, and on consideration of the disadvantage that must inevitably follow from the Docters leaving such a young institution, and also the three United Churches of Wicaco, Kingessing and Upper Merion, beginning now to flourish under this the s. Docters Care & labour for the glory of god must Also Suffer, if not be Altogether Scattered. We therefore Unanimously Agree to the following Resolve:

"Resolved that a humble Address be drawn Up to his Majesty the King of Sweden, as Also to the R. Rev'd. Archbishop and Consistory of the s. place to desire a further Continuance of the Docters stay with the afores'd Congregations, as long as to their Wisdom & goodness shall seem

best, also setting forth in the same Address the Reasons of the Doctor for not Immediately Obeying the said Call, also Vindicating & Clearing the Doctor of many Charges which have been laid or Represented against him."

But the Archbishop and Consistory probably knew what they were about. On Oct. 10, 1767, *Magister* Andr. Göransson, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Wrangel, appeared at the parsonage at Wicaco and presented his credentials. Thereupon the Doctor, whose official language in his dealings with his Vestry was, by this time, English, addressed the following letter, dated Oct. 28, 1767,

"To the Vestry of Wicaco, Kingsessing and Upper Merion.

Gentlemen—

Having received a letter from the most rev^d Arch Bishop & Right Rev. Consistory of Upsal, ordering me Emediately after the arrival of the Reverend M. Göransson to deliver up the Congregations now under my care to the said Gentleman, appointed by his Majesty the King of Sweeden to Succeede me; I have thought it my Duty to Signify this to you, being desirous to obey his Majesty's most gracious Commands, recommending at the same time to you, to take this matter into Consideration that all may Be properly settled for the safety of these Several Congregations, that you represent. I am with due Respect, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate & most Humble Servant

C. M. Wrangel."

Yet the Vestry, having also heard Mr. Göransson, decided to renew the petition of the United Churches to the King, the Archbishop and the Consistory and meanwhile to retain the Doctor's services. Wrangel gave no definite answer, but agreed to take the matter under advisement. At the next meeting of the Vestry, Jan. 13, 1768, the "Rev.

Mr. Georgeson" was reported to have "been deprived of his understanding." In a series of Vestry meetings, on May 2, May 9, May 18, June 29, Aug. 31, Oct. 15, 1768, all of which were conducted and recorded in English, the affairs of Mr. Göransson were the chief subject of deliberation. Meanwhile Dr. Wrangel had decided to obey the orders of his superiors at home, and on Sept. 3 he boarded the ship which was to carry him across the ocean.

In the same year, on Easter Monday, April 4, 1768, the pastor of Trinity church at Wilmington, Borell, died of consumption. He had preached his last sermon on Oct. 25, 1767, in English, and at his burial one Swedish minister, Wicksell, officiated in English, and another, the Rev. Mr. Göransson, in Swedish. Pursuant to a request of the congregation, the assistant of their late pastor, Girelius, was, by a royal commission, appointed his successor in office. On Trinity Sunday, 1770, the anniversary of the dedication of the oldest Lutheran church in America, its last Swedish and its last Lutheran pastor was ordained within its walls. The greater part of his pastoral work was done in English. His catechumens, whom he met every Friday, were instructed in English. The books which he distributed among them, were English and had been furnished by a missionary society in England at the request of Dr. Wrangel. The public services of the congregation were, at first, Swedish on one Sunday and English on the next; but from January 1773 they were English on two Sundays and Swedish on the third.

At Wicaco, the Vestry was convened on July 4, 1770, to receive the latest news from Sweden. "After reading a letter from the Arch Bishop and Consistory of Sweeden"—so say the Records—"setting forth that they require an answer from the Congregation of Mr. Andr. Georgsons continuance, we came to the following Resolves:—1, Resolved that we agree to Receive the Rev^d Mr. And^w Georgson as our Rector for the time being." And "Rector" was the

title he bore after that. He, too, learned to preach English. Before he had recovered from his mental derangement, the Vestry had resolved "That the young Gentlemen who have studied Divinity under our Doctor, Mr Peter Mühlenberg, Daniel Kuhn & Christian Stright be requested by the Wardens to fill up by turns the remaining time by preaching in the several Churches, they having already both in Preaching and pious Conversation given great satisfaction to the several Congregations." One of these young men, the son of Dr. Kuhn of Lancaster, was now at Upsala, and on May 14, 1774, the Wardens of Wicaco Church addressed a letter to young Daniel Kuhn asking him to procure his appointment to the office of an assistant minister to the United Churches by the Archbishop and Consistory, "the Congregations aforesaid being in much want of a Minister well acquainted with the English tongue which if they can obtain in having you nominated to serve them they think will prevent their falling off from the churches and likewise be an introduction (which they wish for) of having in future Ministers of their own choice and those Natives of America." On Oct. 8 of the same year, Göransson notified the Vestry that he would apply for permission to return home to Sweden, and now the Archbishop and Consistory were petitioned to appoint "Mr. Daniell Kuhn" to the Rectorship. In their letter, dated Nov. 5, 1774, the petitioners say:—

"From an inattention of our ancestors to preserve their Mother Tongue to us their posterity and the many intermarriages by the descendants of the Swedes with the English have rendered the Swedish language less familiar than in times of Old & promises in a few years to be almost extinct in these congregations. . . . And as it is the Earnest Desire of these congregations to keep up the old constitution and preserve inviolate the Swedish Lutheran Religion they do not harbor the most distant thought of withdrawing themselves from the care & protection of his most Gracious

Majesty of Sweeden and the Right Revd. Archbishop and Consistory at Upsal. But still wish to be indulg'd as in times past with Ministers from Sweden—From a due consideration of which some few years ago a promising youth Mr. Daniel Kuhn had some Expectations given him of being recommended for these congregations if He thought proper to go to Sweden & to be Ordained a Minister there. The Vestry have the greatest reason to beleive Mr. Kuhn has long since rec^d his ordination, therefore do most Humbly recommend him as a proper person to succeed our present Pastor Georgeson."

This petition was not granted; but in 1780, Matthias Hultgren came as Missionary Extraordinary and was, by the congregation, with the approval of the Commissary, Nicholas Collin, elected "Rector *pro tempore*." The letter from Sweden introducing Mr. Hultgren, to be generally understood, had to be read in an English translation.

In the records of Holy Trinity at Wilmington we find in the minutes of Vestry meetings written by the Rector, Lawrence Girelius, the following statements:—

"A. D. 1782, April 1st.—The vestry having met at the parsonage, I laid before them the last letters from the Right Reverend Archbishop and the Consistory of Upsala, which contained a permission for me and Mr. Göransson to return to our native country, and stated that the King had made the following alteration in the affairs of this mission. That for the future if the congregations choose ministers from Sweden, they pay their traveling expenses from London and, when they return, to London again, the King promising to defray the expenses betwixt Sweden and London. And for the future no salary be given to the Commissary or Provost as heretofore, but that the salary which Mr. Collin has is by special grace and to cease with him, yet for the encouragement of the congregation he would continue the salary for the assistant or Extraordinarius, as he is called, and defray the whole of his passage whenever wanting....

“The Vestry being met at Mr. Lawson’s on the 18th reported that if the minister should conclude to go home, which by-the-way they hoped he would not do, at least not at this time, that their hearty thanks might be expressed to the King for his gracious care for the salvation of their souls, requesting that whenever the present minister shall go, another Godly Divine, at least tolerably well acquainted with the English tongue, might be sent to them, for whom they are willing to pay expenses from London.”

This decision and declaration was upheld when, on February 26, 1784, “the minister informed the Vestry that the Rev. Mr. Collin, Rector of Raccoon and Pennsneck Churches, and the Rev. Mr. Hultgren, Rector of Wicacoe, requested the attendance of the Vestry here in the church on the 14th inst.” On May 10, 1784, the same matter was before the Vestry at Philadelphia, and it was agreed that the congregations would accept the King’s gracious proposal, “provided a Missionary could be obtain’d who besides other Necessary Qualifications has a sufficient Knowledge of the English Tongue; that a Native of Sweden would then be most acceptable, but that otherwise the Congregations would be best served by an American, who after having acquired some degree of Education here might finish it in Sweden and return with Holy Orders.”

On June 14, 1786, in a meeting of thirteen “Vestrymen and Church Wardens” at Philadelphia, at which “Rev. Matthias Hultgren, Rector” was also present, a communication from Provost Girelius was submitted which said:—

“Gentlemen of the Vestry,

“We have taken the liberty to request the favor of Your Attendance in order to acquaint you with the Contents of the late Dispatches from our Superiors at Home the right Rev^d Arch Bishop of Upsala the H^{ble} Fredenheim one of the King’s Secretaries which are as follows: That the Rev^d Mr. Hultgren is agreeable to his request permitted to re-

turn to his native countrie—that the Rev^d Mr. Collin is appointed to succeed him at Wicacoa, and that part of his congregation called Raccoon which he is commanded occasionally to visit—that part of the congregation called Pennsneck, to be in like manner occasionally visited by the Rev^d Laurence Girelius of Wilmington.

“That for the future it is but reasonable, as the Object, which was the Sweed Tongue, ceaseth, also the expenses of Sweden should cease; the King hath taken a middle way as the Congregations can all along obtain ministers when they desire or ask for them, only that they themselves provide for them.”

The “Vestry and Church-Wardens” were not slow to act on these overtures, and two days later, an answer had been framed and signed, from which we quote the following:—

“The Vestry always maintaining a due sense of the care and Attention of His present Majesty the King of Sweden and his Royal Predecessors towards the Churches, has agreed to receive the Revd. Mr. Collin as their Pastor and Rector, reserving to the Congregations a Right hereafter of their own appointment of a Minister from this side the water should they find it more convenient and beneficial to themselves and to the Welfare of these Churches, so that hereafter it will be entirely unnecessary for any future appointment to take place from Sweden of a Minister to serve in these Congregations unless a Request of that kind should be made in due form which is not very probable, as the Swedish Tongue is almost entirely extinct in Pennsylvania.”

In the following year, 1787, “An Act to Confirm and amend the Charter of Incorporation of the United Swedish Lutheran churches” was passed by the government of Pennsylvania, of which Section 5 ran as follows:—

“And whereas it is represented to this House, that the Swedish Language is almost extinct and in consequence

thereof the Mission from Sweden may probably cease to be continued according to the ancient custom and Usage—in that case and not otherwise, the Church Wardens and Vestry Men of the said United Churches for the time being shall convene together the congregations of the said United Churches of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merrion, by Notice given in one or more of the public Newspapers of this city, for at least three Weeks successively, and a Majority of the said congregation so met (who are descendants of or intermarried with the Descendants of those Ancient Swedes whose Names are upon Record in the Church Books of Wicacoa, as donors to or purchasers of the Lands now held and belonging to the said Church, and who have heretofore attached themselves as Members of the said United Churches by serving in the Office of Vestry men, or attending divine service either by themselves or families) together with a Majority of the Church Wardens, and Vestry Men, shall establish some Rule, or Regulation for the future choice or election of a Rector and other Minister or Ministers to supply the said Churches, provided always that such Rector and other Ministers shall be in the Ministry of the Lutheran or Episcopal Churches and hold their faith in the Doctrines of the same.”

In a similar way the Charter of “The Swedes Lutheran Church” at Wilmington was changed in 1795, whereby this congregation, like the United Churches at Wicaco etc., laid aside its Lutheran character. The preamble of the revised Charter stated the reason why “alterations, additions and amendments” had become necessary;—

“Whereas the Swedes Lutheran Church, called Trinity Church in the Borough of Wilmington, in the county of New Castle, in the State of Delaware was of Swedish foundation and hath heretofore been filled by missionaries from the Swedish government, to whom an annual stipend was paid by that government; and whereas the knowledge of the Swedish language amongst the members of said church

hath become extinct, and the mission from Sweden hath ceased for some time past." . . .

One of the paragraphs of the amended Charter said: —

"And be it further enacted, That the vestrymen and churchwardens shall have full power to choose and appoint for one year and so on from year to year forever after, a preacher or minister to fill the said church, and all subordinate officers of said church; Provided always, That such preacher or minister be ordained according to the ordinances of the Lutheran, or Episcopal Church, and hold his faith in unity with the doctrines of the same."

It was only consistent herewith that "The Vestry and Wardens of Trinity Church assembled in said church on Saturday, March 5th, 1796, it being quarterly meeting," declared "that any free white male person supporting a moral character, professing the Lutheran or Episcopal faith, who have entered into the communion of Trinity Church, taken a seat in said church and has paid a contribution to the support of the ministry one year previous to an annual election, shall have a right to vote. Likewise any person of the above description, who has been estimated a reputable member for four years shall have a right to be voted for as vestrymen or wardens."

The pastor of the congregation was at that time, and had been since 1792, an Episcopalian, Joseph Clarkson, whom also the Vestrymen of Wicaco &c. had recommended to their brethren at Wilmington as a worthy successor to Pastor Girelius on the latter's return to Sweden in 1791. The only former Swedish missionary who now remained in America was Nicholas Collin. From his hand and over his signature we have, in a pastoral letter dated Oct. 1, 1797, and addressed "To the members of the Swedish Lutheran Congregations of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion," the following portraiture of the state of these congregations toward the close of the 18th century: —

“The mixture of nations and religious denominations; the want of order so common in this part of America; the gradual extinction of the Swedish language; a want of gratitude to some worthy pastors; and the faults of the less worthy (whether of the head or heart)—all these causes combined in various ways have from a longer period, but more especially since thirty or forty years, so impaired these congregations, that but a part of those who by the charter have a right to membership merit the same. Corruption of manners and many calamities have been and are the visible consequences. Many of the children receive no education, and both from ignorance and early habits become vicious youths. Many persons both old and young frequent no public worship whatever; some fluctuate between various societies, and never become settled in principles and practise. How many of the ancient Swedish families have lost opulent patrimonies by their debauchery, vanity, idleness; and by the unhappy connections they formed, evil companions, fraudulent dealers and wicked conjugal mates.”

Collin remained the pastor of the “United Swedish Lutheran Churches of Wicaco, Kingessing and Upper Merion,” to the end of his life, Oct. 7, 1831. In the course of years, since 1787, a number of assistants labored by his side, Joseph Clarkson, Slator Clay, Joseph Turner, Jehu C. Clay, James Wiltbank, M. B. Roche, Charles M. Dupuy, Pierce Connelly, all of whom were clergymen of the Episcopal Church. One of them, Jehu C. Clay, became Collin’s successor in the pastorate. In 1842, the three churches separated, and in the new charter, the old church built in Rudman’s days was no longer by name what it had long ago ceased to be in fact, Swedish and Lutheran, the corporate name being “the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Gloria Dei Church, in the District of Southwark.” Still Sect. 7 of the Charter of 1842 said:—“No person shall be the Rector or assistant minister of this Church, unless he shall be in the ministry of the Swedish Lutheran, or

Protestant Episcopal Church, and hold his faith in the doctrine of the same." In 1846 the Charter was again amended. Article I read:—"This church acknowledges itself to be a member of, and to belong to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. As such it accedes to, recognizes, and adopts the Constitution, Canons, Doctrines, Discipline, and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; and acknowledges their authority accordingly."

The congregations at Wilmington, Raccoon, and Pennsneck had long before passed over into the Episcopal Church, Kingsessing and Upper Merion went the same way.

What we have followed up through a long array of historical facts as they appear in the original sources is a two-fold change which these congregations in the Delaware valley have undergone. In the beginning, these congregations were Swedish and Lutheran; at the end, they were neither Swedish nor Lutheran, but English and Episcopal. But the two changes, the change of language and the change of creed, though they went, part of the way, hand in hand, were by no means identical. The change from Swedish to English was one thing, that from Lutheran to Episcopal, another, and in tracing the causes of both it will be necessary to exercise due care in keeping them asunder. For this reason we have reserved a series of facts bearing upon the change of creed for a future chapter, and in summing up what the facts set forth in the preceding pages should teach the present generation we invite the reader's attention at present to the change of language, and that only.

Before entering upon the causes which worked together to bring about the change of language in the early Lutheran churches on the Delaware, we would point out that this change made slow headway in its earlier stage and progressed with increasing rapidity after a certain period. At the end of the first half century of Swedish Lutheranism in

America, the spokesman of nearly a thousand petitioners could say, "We all of us understand Swedish." After another half century the fact that "Swedish was in our American churches in a great degree forgotten and neglected" caused a candidate for a pastorate in these churches to fear that "for the first year," until he should have acquired sufficient familiarity with the English language, he "could do little or no service in all the work necessary to be done in the various charges committed to him." The time was even then close at hand when the official language of the "Rector" and the Vestrymen of the Swedish congregations was no longer Swedish, but English, and long before another half century had expired, it was officially stated that "the Sweed Tongue ceaseth," that "the Swedish Language is almost extinct," and a little later that "the knowledge of the Swedish language amongst the members of said church hath become extinct."

It is, furthermore, remarkable that an acceleration of the change of language set in at a time of increased prosperity throughout the Swedish congregations in America, when the arrival of talented and energetic missionaries had inaugurated a new era, when the new and stately Swedes' Churches had been built and dedicated, and attracted the attention and enlisted the respect of many who had until then taken little notice of the "Lutherian" church.

Both of these observations are of value for our investigation. All changes of whatever kind, in moral and social and physical life, even in inanimate nature, proceed with increasing rapidity unless the retarding agencies exceed the promoting causes in force or persistency. Again, every process of assimilation is favored by greater approximation and closer association of the elements between which this process is going on.

That the language of a people is modified by contact with other languages is a law which is akin to the laws of nature, and to which the languages of all ages bear witness.

And the closer the contact, the more potent its influence. While the Swedish settlers were among themselves at Christina and Tinicum and Cranhook and Marcus Hook and Wicaco, and throughout the rural districts the nearest neighbor in every direction was again, with but few exceptions, a Swede, there was little contact with the few people in the valley who spoke another language, and among these few there were Dutch and Germans besides the English who gradually multiplied their numbers in what had been New Sweden. Thus, during the first period, not only the older people, who had immigrated from Sweden, remained Swedes in language and customs, but also their children who grew up in this country became what their early training and their associations in domestic and social and religious life made them, young people who "all of them understood Swedish" better than any other language. To the end of the century they were known and mentioned as "the Swedes." William Penn addressed a letter to "the Swedes" in his province, telling them to keep their homes and fear no oppression. In a petition the petitioners announce themselves as "We Swedes and Finns belonging to Cranhook Church." And yet even during this conservative period the influence of the limited contact between the Swedes and their English neighbors had not been entirely without effect. Thus we have seen Carl Springer sufficiently versed in English to translate Thelin's letter into the Governor's language.

After this conservative period, a change of conditions and circumstances set in and continued. During the first half of the 18. century immigration from Europe was strong, especially from England and Germany. But among the many thousands who landed there were few Swedes. At the same time, the remaining immigrated Swedes of the first period passed away, and their children and grandchildren, naturally less attached to Swedish traditions, and living in a more densely settled country, came under the increasing influence of new associations. When *Gloria Dei* was dedi-

cated, the number of visitors who did not understand Swedish was so considerable that the Swedish preacher deemed it proper to repeat his sermon in English, and many were the English sermons preached in these churches in subsequent years, until the knowledge of English was deemed an essential qualification of a Swedish preacher in America. Even the first pastor of *Gloria Dei* preached more English than Swedish during his later years. Of the seventy-seven marriages solemnized by Acrelius in 1750, only five were those of couples belonging to the congregation; most of the names recorded in the register were English, and three of the five marked as within the congregation were mixed marriages, one of the parties being English. Compare Carl Springer's statement, "We all of us understand Swedish," with the statement of the Pennsneck people in 1747, that "most of them were English." Small wonder that the time was not far distant when the Swedish language in America was said to be "extinct." For what was there to retard the process of assimilation with nearly everything in its favor? Swedish schools had, from the beginning, been few and shortlived. Education had been scanty during the earlier period. Of the fifteen signers of a petition in the name of the "Congregation of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession on the South River," eight, and of the signers of another document, all but one, were unable to write their names and signed by their "mark." From the time of Biörck's successor, Hesselius, till after the arrival of Acrelius, for upwards of twenty-five years, no Swedish school was taught in the Wilmington charge, and very little after that. As a consequence, it proved more and more difficult to get the young people to attend the Swedish services and catechizations, and thus these preservatives also were of the least benefit to those who were most in need of them. Swedish periodicals were unknown in those days. Swedish immigration had ceased. The efforts of the Swedish pastors to stay the current were futile. Facts were then, as they are

now, stubborn things to deal with, and the *modus vivendi* to which the preachers had to accommodate themselves was to speak English with their people, to whom even the authorities in Sweden became intelligible only as their communications were rendered into English. Thus the causes concurring in bringing about the change from Swedish to English, the influences of social life, of mixed marriages and the resulting family connections, of schooling and reading, business intercourse and politics, and even religious life were free to act under little and decreasing hindrance and, consequently, with increasing energy and rapidity, toward the final result.

That this final result was the extinction, not only of the Swedish language, but also of Lutheranism, in these Swedish Lutheran congregations was, however, due to causes which we have hitherto only incidentally touched upon and which we intend to bring into relief in a subsequent chapter of this Lesson on the Language Question.

A. G.

Practical Theology.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

For years we have encountered opinions in favor of national legislation on marriage and divorce with a view of doing away with the multitude of marriage laws now in force and of establishing a more satisfactory uniform law throughout the States of the Union. We do not deny that such uniform legislation would afford certain advantages as compared with the present state of things whereby a pastor's removal from one State to another puts him under the necessity of familiarizing himself with another set of statutes, the full import of which may be unknown even to lawyers whom he may consult, and even the full text of which may not be found in the latest edition of the Revised Statutes, but partly in the more recent Session Acts. Yet we find from all that we have seen that this clamor for Federal legislation on marriage and divorce is likewise bound up with a lack of familiarity with legal affairs, even with the fundamentals of civil legislation in the United States. These advocates of Federal marriage legislation are ignorant or unmindful of the very principles upon which marriage legislation in this country is based, viz., that each State in the Union is sovereign in its internal affairs, that the right of each State to regulate its own domestic policy implies the right to determine the civil status of its citizens and to establish the *jus loci* governing the contracts made within its territory, and that marriage is a civil status superinduced by a contract entered into by the contracting parties under the *jus loci*. In all these respects, the courts of one State consider all other States and all Territories directly under Federal jurisdiction as foreign territory, to which they must not push their jurisdiction. Nor does any State permit any

extraterritorial legislation to infringe upon its own undisputed right of determining the civil status or domestic or social conditions of persons domiciled within its territory. This holds good also with regard to artificial persons, or corporations. Each State creates its own corporations according to its own laws, and it is only by what is termed the comity of states or nations that the corporations of one State are recognized by every other State as far as the laws of the State exercising such comity will permit. It is on a similar policy that the maxim that marriage valid where contracted is valid everywhere is based, and no State, by following this maxim, waives its legal right of determining the status of its citizens. Thus, also, actions concerning the status of marriage as such are not considered proceedings *in personam*, but proceedings *in rem*, and this *res* being a thing fixed within the State, it comes under the jurisdiction of that State, and under no other. The Federal government, also, may obtain a certain jurisdiction in such matters only by virtue of the "full faith and credit" clause of the United States Constitution, saying, Art. IV, § 1, "Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof." But here, too, the basis of such acts etc. is the law of the particular State, and the U. S. Statutes at Large say: "The said records and judicial proceedings, authenticated as aforesaid, shall have such faith and credit given them in every court within the United States as they have by law or usage in the courts of the State from whence the said records are or shall be taken." This clause, then, is so far from denying, that it rather confirms, the principle that each State primarily fixes the civil relations of the citizens domiciled within its territory.

There are still other considerations which would render uniform Federal legislation on marriage and divorce for the

States of the Union, even if at all feasible, extremely difficult and, in the outcome, unsatisfactory. The social conditions prevailing in the various States and Territories are by no means the same. Laws appropriate for the older, more densely settled States, with a more stable and law-abiding population, would be less adapted to and enforceable in new, more sparsely settled States with a more fluctuating, migratory population embodying a stronger unruly element. Hence, f. ex., desertion, to constitute a cause of judicial divorce, must in such old States as Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, New Jersey, Ohio, be continued for three years, while in California, Nevada, Colorado, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, the time was set at one year, and in Arizona at 6 months. To avoid putting dead letter law on the statute book, the Federal legislature, in framing a uniform marriage law for all the States, would probably be inclined to enact statutes lax enough to be enforceable everywhere. Thus the advocates of what they would expect to be better legislation would find that instead of a gain they would score a loss. Or if, which is hardly probable, stricter and more severe legislation should prevail than social conditions in parts of the South and West would justify, unconquered defiance of unduly severe marriage laws in those parts would leave the domestic relations practically under less satisfactory regulation and would foster a spirit of lawlessness to the detriment of society.

What we have said in brief on the subject would furnish the groundwork for a long treatise, but will suffice to point out some of the chief reasons why whatever might and should be done toward better legislation on marriage and divorce must, under the prevailing circumstances, be done by State legislation. Besides, important as the enactment of appropriate laws undoubtedly is, much also depends upon the proper administration of existing laws and upon faithful compliance with these laws by those whom they concern.

A. G.